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TO THE MEN AND WOMEN

OF OUR TIME AND COUNTRY WHO BY WISE AND GENEROUS GIVING

HAVE ENCOURAGED THE SEARCH AFTER TRUTH

IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

INVESTIGATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. *University*
FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

INVESTIGATIONS REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENTS

ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES GERMANIC
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES ENGLISH

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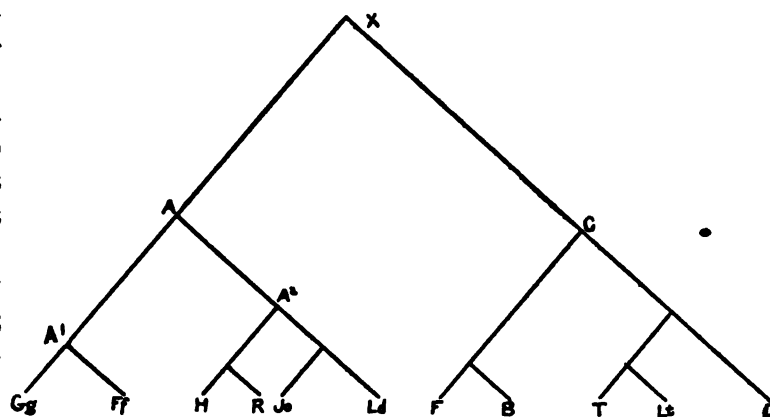
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**ON THE TEXT OF CHAUCER'S PARLEMENT OF
FOULES**

ON THE TEXT OF CHAUCER'S PARLEMENT OF FOULES

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND

IN the Globe edition of Chaucer's works, published by The Macmillan Company in 1898, and edited by A. W. Pollard, M. H. Liddell, and others, the *Parlement of Foules* is, with the other minor poems, supervised by Mr. H. F. Heath. In his brief introduction to the poem Mr. Heath prints the genealogical tree of most of the manuscripts as it was indicated by Koch in *Anglia*, IV, Anz., p. 97, remarking that he agrees with Koch in its construction. The diagram is as follows:¹



But a minute collation of the entire text of the *Parlement of Foules* will, it seems to me, lead a student to several conclusions: (1) that the above genealogy must be modified in detail; (2) that, even were it accepted, some of the readings elected by Mr. Heath

are unjustified; (3) that, if the results here arrived at be correct, the discussion of Chaucerian metre must be reopened. These conclusions I shall examine in full below.

Examples of the second point may be given at once: *e. g.*, in line 65, of the two main (and four secondary) groups as drawn out by Mr. Heath, one main and an opposed secondary group read or indicate *And was sumdel ful of harde grace*, the other sub-group having, plainly by alteration in its own immediate source, the reading *And ful of turment and of harde grace*. This latter, adopted by Mr. Heath into a nominally critical text, cannot be supported on the manuscript evidence.²

Other examples of modification necessary to a critical text are much less radical; indeed, an interesting feature of this examination has been the general correspondence of the resultant text, so far as verbal similarity goes, with those printed by Professor Skeat (*Student's Chaucer*) and Mr. Heath. A still more interesting feature has been the frequency with which Professor Skeat, following what I may term the method of genial intuitivity, has arrived at readings in harmony with critical deduction, while Mr. Heath, working with a genealogy of the manuscripts before his eyes, has deviated. A few examples illustrating these points are subjoined:

¹ I have altered the lettering of this diagram to correspond with that here used.

² With Koch's conjecture, *Engl. Stud.*, XXVII, p. 49, I

cannot agree. I consider that *Ff* omitted *ful*, and that *Gg* distorted the reading; *cf.* the tendencies of these manuscripts as discussed below.

Line 7. Critical text: *Nat wot I wel wher that I flete or synke*. So Heath; Skeat, *wher that I wake or wynke*.

Line 54. Critical text: *Meneth but a maner deth what wey we trace*. Skeat and Heath, *Nis but*, etc., the reading of Gg and Cax³ only. Cf. Selden.³

Line 142. Critical text: *Of which I gan astonyd to beholde*. Heath and Skeat, *The which*, etc., the reading of one sub-group, opposed by its fellow and by the other main group. Skeat, *a stounde*, the reading of one sub-group, the remainder of that main group showing *stonde* and the opposed main group *astonyd*.

Line 150. Critical text: *Ne hath no myght to meve to nor fro*. Both editors, *That hath*, etc., the reading of the C group, while the A group shows the reading above printed. Since, according to Mr. Heath, the A is the better group of manuscripts, we expect to see its readings followed where it and C are opposed.

Line 205. Both editors follow GgFfCax in omitting a *ther* present in other texts. But note that in line 119 both editors passed a reading offered by GgFfHh.

Line 207. Critical text: *No man may ther wexe seke ne olde*. Skeat and Heath, *Ne no man*, etc., the reading of a branch of one sub-group.

• Line 214. Critical text: *And wille hys doghter tempred al the while*. Skeat, *And wel al the whyle*; Heath, *And Wille al this while*. Skeat's *wel* is from Gg and S, the manuscripts FfHDTLt showing a *while*, *whiele*, *whill*, which is plainly influenced by the last word in the line. According to Boccaccio, the daughter of Cupid was Voluttade — Voluptas. If Chaucer, or the scribe in whose text he read Boccaccio, chanced to misinterpret Voluttade as Volūtade or Voluntade, the transition to *Will* is inevitable. The *this* in Heath's text is found in one sub-group and one branch-group of A, the other branch-group and the C manuscripts showing *the*.

Line 278. Critical text: *To whom on knees two yonge folk ther criede*. Both editors, *two yonge folkes cryde*. The *ther* is omitted by C and by one A group manuscript, the HRSCax antecedent. As both these texts have a tendency to omit (see below), and as a coincident insertion of *ther* by three A group manuscripts, GgFf, Hh, P³Jo, is less credible than such coincident omission, the *ther* is retained. Observe that it appears in the GgFf pair, a pair whose isolated readings are frequently adopted by one or both editors, but are here disregarded by them.

Line 285. Critical text: *Of many a storye of which I touche shal*. So Skeat. Heath, *Ful many*, etc., the GgFfCax reading, occurring in those allied manuscripts possibly by transfer from the opening of line 282. Note the adoption of a GgFf reading here and the rejection of it in line 278.

Line 298. Critical text: *Tho was I war wher ther sate a quene*. Both editors, *where that ther*, the reading of Gg and of the arbitrary and contaminated S. Considering the idiosyncrasies of Gg discussed below, its isolated reading cannot be adopted here. Note the consequent "Lydgatian" movement of the line; and observe that in line 393 the reading of GgS is ignored by both editors.

³ For the Caxton print (Cax), Selden (S), and Pepys (P) see list of manuscripts on p. 8.

Line 313. Critical text: *That erthe and see and tree and every lake*. So Skeat. Heath, *erthe and eyr*, etc., the reading of GgFf alone.

Line 317. Critical text: *Devyseth Nature of suche array and face*. Both editors omit *suche*, as do GgFf. This reading is opposed by the other division of A and by C. It may be easy to argue a coincident insertion of *suche* by C and A², under the influence of line 318.

Line 325. Critical text: *That eten as that nature wolde enclyne*. Both editors, *hem* instead of *that*, the reading of GgFfCax.

Line 380. Critical text: *That hoot colde hevvy lyght moiste and drye*. Skeat inserts an *and*, found in no manuscript, before *moiste*; this he brackets. Heath inserts the *and* without brackets.

Line 389. Critical text: *With youre makes as I prik yow with plesaunce*. Both editors drop the opening *with*, as do GgFf. Note that in line 385, however, the Gg FfLtCax reading, *I wol you spede*, is passed by both editors in favor of the general *I wol me spede*.

Line 396. Critical text: *The whiche I have formed as ye may see*. GgFf omit the opening *The*, a reading not adopted by Skeat or Heath. Neither is the *wel*, which these two manuscripts show before *see*, taken by the editors; but cf. their procedure in line 389. Skeat alters the word-order to *formed have*, marking his change by a dagger; Heath takes the *yformed* of Pepys, there written *Iformed*.

Line 426. Critical text: *Hauyng rewarde oonly to my trouthe*. Heath, *And hauyng reward*, etc., the reading of CaxGg also showing the *And*, with a different word-order. Skeat inserts a bracketed *al* before *oonly*.

Line 452. Critical text: *Or atte lest I love hyr as wel as ye*. So Skeat. Heath omits *hyr*, as do GgCaxS.

Line 473. Critical text: *Thise twenty wynter and as wel happen may*. Both editors omit *as*, taking, in this respect, the reading of C and of the careless sub-group HRS. As we shall see below, the distinction of C from A is frequently because of omission by the former; and it is more credible to suppose that the A archetype showed *as*, omitted by HRS, than that two branches of A should independently insert *as*. Considering, then, the tendency of C to omit, we retain the A reading. Both editors print *winter*, passing over the *yere* of GgCax; note their procedure in line 54.

Line 487. Critical text: *Who that hadde leyser and kunnyng*. Skeat, *Whoso that*, etc., bracketing the *so*, which appears only in Jo, and there in the form *Whoso hath*, without any *that*. Heath's line is like Skeat's, but without the brackets. Cf. 380.

Line 490. Critical text: *Til downward went the sonne wonder faste*. Both editors take the *drow* of Gg instead of *went*. Note, however, that in line 497 they both print *For ye or nay withouten any preve*, when the Gg reads *othir preve*.

Line 503. Critical text: *And wol sey my veyrdit faire and swythe*. Both editors, *And I wol sey*, the reading of Gg and of the untrustworthy manuscripts Cax and S. Note the *I* in line 502.

In line 506, as in lines 567, 583, 629, 647, 661, 670, and 672, Heath adopts the isolated readings of Gg, Skeat agreeing with the critical text. The reading in line 629 is supported by Jo.

Line 543. Critical text: *For sirs taketh noght agrefe I pray*. Both editors adopt the Gg reading, with *ne* before *taketh*.

Line 564. Critical text: *And herkeneth which a reson I shal forth brynge*. Both editors take the Gg reading with omitted *forth*.

Line 569. Critical text: *Quod the sperhauke neuer mote she thee*. Heath prints *tho* after *Quod*, the reading of TD.

Line 585. Critical text: *Yet let hym serve hir euer tyl he be dede*. So Skeat. Heath shows a reading of no manuscript, P being nearest it. He prints *serven hir til he*, etc.; P thus, but with no *n* on the infinitive. Gg shows a smooth metrical reading, *serue hire til that he*, but Heath unexpectedly disregards this. See his procedure noted in line 506 and elsewhere.

In line 594, where Skeat follows the main group—plus the opposed sub-group—reading *duk*, Heath takes the reading *gos*, disregarding not only the weight of authority, but also the agreement of Gg with that authority.

In line 602 both editors follow GgCax in printing *nat* instead of *neyther*; but in line 611 neither editor adopts the Gg reading *thanne* after *seyde*. In line 621, again, both editors take the GgCax *the eleccion* instead of *hir eleccion*.

Line 620. Critical text: *But fynally this ys my conclusyon*. So Skeat. Heath omits *ys*, thus offering a reading found in no manuscript.

Line 626. Critical text: *Than wol I doon this fauour to hir that she*. Both editors take the Gg reading.

Line 637. Critical text: *That to yow hit ought to been a suffisaunce*. Both editors follow GgCax in omitting *hit*.

Line 641. Critical text: *As is euerych other creature*. Both editors show an opening *Lyk* found only in Jo. The normal though headless Ff and erratic Gg readings are here both passed over.

In line 644 the Gg is passed in favor of Ff and the majority. Cf. Heath's procedure as noted on line 506 and elsewhere, from which he again deviates in line 654.

The roundel is freely handled by both editors.⁴

It will appear from the above notes on the editorial methods of Professor Skeat and Mr. Heath that the manuscript Gg receives from them an especially peculiar treatment, being now fully accredited, now suddenly discredited; and the interest which this manuscript consequently acquires for us is increased by noting a set of cases in which, either alone or with slight support, manuscript Gg presents a reading that appeals to us on literary or metrical grounds. Such cases are:

Line 166. Manuscript Gg: *And demyn yit wher he do bet or he*; manuscript

⁴ The questions regarding the roundel, its omission, insertion, or distortion, will not be here discussed.

Jo: *And to deme*, etc.; manuscript S: *And deme*, etc. All other manuscripts show the third singular of the verb, which Skeat retains, Heath taking the infinitive.

Line 232. Manuscript Gg: *Aboute that temple daunsedyn alwey*. No other manuscript shows the trisyllabic plural.

Line 363. Manuscript Gg: *The rauen wys the crowe wit vois of care*. Ff omits *wys*; all other manuscripts omit the epithet and also show the plural forms *rauenys*, *crowes*.

Line 460. Manuscript Gg: *As wel as that myn wit can me suffyse*. No other manuscript shows *that*. Both editors print it.

Line 551. Manuscript Gg: *Were sittynge for hire If that he leste*. No other manuscript but S shows the superlative, and it in the form *best sitting*. Observe the superlatives in the three lines preceding. Both editors print the Gg adjective, but ignore the Gg *he* (other manuscripts *her*).

Line 613. Manuscript Gg: *That broughte the forth thow reufulles glotoun*. Both editors print a bracketed *reuthelless*, derived partly from this manuscript, partly from Pepys. All other manuscripts *reiful*.

Line 632. Manuscript Gg: *If I were resoun certis thanne wold I*. All other manuscripts omit *certis*.

Line 655. Manuscript Gg: *Quod tho Nature heere is no more to seye*. Other manuscripts show no *tho*, except H.

Though manuscript Gg is not the only manuscript of which the isolated testimony has been accepted by Chaucerian editors — witness the participial form of P in line 396, the *flyes* of R in line 353, the *like* of Jo in line 641 — yet no manuscript but this has received from the editors of this poem such frequent and distinguished honor. When we observe, however, that it is at times entirely discredited by the same editors, we recognize that an especial part of our investigation must be an inquiry into the individual peculiarities and genealogical position of manuscript Gg. External combine with internal idiosyncrasies to render this investigation necessary; the Gg is the only manuscript showing the A version of the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*; this fact, with others equally noteworthy, and its probable early date, indicate a close relationship to the true Chaucerian text; while its occasional flagrant lapses and evidently tinkered text point to a confusion of treatment by its immediate scribe. A complete investigation of its peculiarities, however, cannot be carried through without a minute examination, here and now impossible, of its contents as a whole, their arrangement, and the different hands in which they are copied; and the same is true of all other manuscripts. Were it possible to put side by side the Tanner, Digby, Fairfax, Bodley, and Longleat manuscripts, and to compare all in their entirety with Ff, I think that an idea of manuscript relationships as wholes might be obtained which would perhaps modify and enlarge the genealogical schemes constructed by editors of Chaucer and Lydgate, as well as that here offered. With this consciousness

in mind, I have felt an especial hesitation in outlining the subjoined genealogy; for it seems to me that the next move in Chaucerian study will be in the direction to which I have just alluded, and that such a move will in all likelihood render these attempts of small avail. Further, let it be said that the purpose of this examination is not to contravene the possibility or the need of conjectural emendation in Chaucerian text construction, but to discriminate between a text so emended and a text adhering rigidly to the existing evidence.

The manuscripts of the *Parlement of Foules*, fifteen in number, are as follows:

Gg 4, 27 (University Library, Cambridge), referred to here as Gg.

Ff I, 6, of the same library, referred to here as Ff.

Hh 4, 12, of the same library, referred to here as Hh.

R 3, 19 (Trinity College, Cambridge), referred to here as R.

Pepys 2006 (Magdalen College, Cambridge), referred to here as P.

St. John's LVII (St. John's College, Oxford), referred to here as Jo.

Fairfax 16 (Bodleian, Oxford), referred to here as F.

Bodley 638 (Bodleian), referred to here as B.

Tanner 346 (Bodleian), referred to here as T.

Digby 181 (Bodleian), referred to here as D.

Laud 416 (Bodleian), referred to here as Ld.

Selden B 24 (Bodleian), referred to here as S.

Harley 7333 (British Museum) referred to here as H.

Longleat 181 (Marquess of Bath), referred to here as Lt.

The original of the Caxton print (University Library, Cambridge), referred to here as Cax.

All are studied from the Chaucer Society's reprints.

Of these manuscripts the major part are substantially complete. Selden, a recension strongly tinged with Scotticisms, and constantly arbitrary in its renderings, is made use of here only to line 601; beyond that point it is spurious. Pepys is incomplete after line 667; Hh and Laud are fragments, of 365 and 142 lines respectively; and B lacks a number of stanzas, comprising lines 1-22 and 157-99.

Parallelizing these texts, I find a sharp divergence into two main groups, which I term A and C. Into the A group fall manuscripts Gg, Ff, H, R, Jo, Ld, S, Hh, P, and Cax; into the C group, manuscripts F, B, T, Lt, and D.

This division is made upon the basis of the following readings:

Line 3, A	dreadful	C blissful	Line 55, A	after	C when
5,	wonderful	dreadful	58,	the hevens	hevens
5,	astonyeth	astonyeth so	64,	bade (or said)—syn	bade—see
13,	I dare	dare I	69,	shuld	shal
26,	(as) of this	of my first	70,	is doon	was doon
29,	make of mencion	make mencion	72,	into that	to
30,	as I shal telle	I shal you telle	75,	shalt not	shalt neuer
32,	seven it hadde	it hadde seven	84,	send us (or thee)	send each lover
35,	say	tell	107,	I had red	I red had
37,	In—meteth	Into—mette	110,	totorne	al totorne
43,	tellith it (or he)	told he him	135,	strokis	stroke
44,	shewed	yshewed	137,	neuer tree shal	tree shal neuer
50,	folk	the folk	138,	to	unto

Line 149, A <i>sette</i>	C <i>ysette</i> or is <i>set</i>	Line 233, A <i>som ther were</i>	C <i>som were</i>
178, <i>boxtre piper</i>	<i>box pipe tre</i>	234, <i>wer gay</i>	<i>gay</i>
188, <i>that swimmen</i>	<i>and swimming</i>	237, <i>of doves white</i>	<i>saw I white</i>
192, <i>so or som</i>	<i>that</i>	238, <i>Sitting—100 (or 1,000)</i>	<i>Of doves . . . 100</i>
194, <i>al aboute</i>	<i>aboute</i>	240, <i>sat with a</i>	<i>sat a</i>
206, <i>wex or was</i>	<i>growen</i>	241, <i>by her side</i>	<i>her beside</i>
209, <i>than man</i>	<i>no man</i>	250, <i>and wel</i>	<i>wel</i>
215, <i>her</i>	<i>hard</i>	338, <i>hardy sparhawk</i>	<i>sparhawk</i>
217, <i>for to</i>	<i>to</i>	436, <i>al be</i>	<i>al though</i>
221, <i>do before (or by force)</i>	<i>go before</i>	501, <i>said</i>	<i>said tho</i>
222, <i>I will</i>	<i>I shall</i>	544, <i>may not go</i>	<i>may not</i>
229, <i>shall not here</i>	<i>shall not</i>	666, <i>brought</i>	<i>wrought</i>

While making this division, several noteworthy facts become evident: first, the marked decrease in group divergences after line 250; secondly, the fact that in several cases the difference of group C from group A is due to an omission by the former archetype; thirdly, that, owing to this and other reasons, the text of the A archetype was probably nearer to the ultimate original verbally. Such additional reasons I find in cases of this sort: The original of line 221 is, in the *Teseide*, VII, stanza 55, *Di fare altrui a forza far follia*. The reading *don by force . . . to don folye* is therefore beyond a doubt the Chaucerian line; the C archetype not only dropped a letter from *be force*, making it *be fore*, as did the GgFf ancestor,⁵ but under the pressure of this adverbial idea changed *don* to *gon*. The confusion of pronouns in line 43, where some A manuscripts show a similar slip, the misunderstanding in line 64, and the meaningless inversion in line 178 are other cases which have led me to adhere, in writing out a critical text, to the readings of the A archetype when that and C are opposed. The orthography to be adopted is, however, another question.

Proceeding to classify⁶ the C group, we note at once the distinction of BF from DLtT; cf. lines 56, 106, *108 (omission by FB), 126, 154, 208, 214, 224, 236, 278, 295, 303 (omission by DLtT), *383 (omission by FB), *512, 612, 623, 669. Cf. also the colophon of these two manuscripts, and the presence of the French phrase after stanza 97.

That F is not derived from B may be argued from lines 27, 63, 140, 206, 313—omissions by B alone—and from the misreadings and slight insertions of B not appearing in F; cf. lines 37, 72, 231, 263, 335, 364, 394, 395, 504, 556, 585, 637, 688. For the converse, the independence of B from F, the evidence is very scanty, the verbal and even orthographical agreement of the two manuscripts being exceedingly close. The divergences of the two in lines 152, 216, 253, 263, 551, 590, 637 argue little or nothing for or against B's derivation from F; the slips of F in lines 359, 381, 420, 436, 652 might possibly be emended by the careful Bodl y scribe; but lines *201, *476, and in less measure 358—Bodley's avoidance of omission made by Fairfax—seem to point to independent transcription of a common original. See also line 652. Although the

⁵In line 80 the GgFf ancestor also slipped a letter, writing "Shul whirle aboute pere al wey in payne," instead

of *perbe, the erthe*, a form shown in C, and changed by A² to *the world*, probably by influence of line 81.

⁶Starred line-numbers indicate important instances.

hypothesis of two extremely careful scribes may at first glance appear to require a double amount of credulity, the steady accuracy of the Bodley scribe is no more striking on the theory of independent transcription than it is on the theory of transcription from Fairfax. I have therefore dissented from Mr. Furnivall's conjecture that Fairfax may be the source of Bodley, and assumed for these two manuscripts independent transcription from an ancestor separate from the ancestor or ancestors of DLtT. Before turning to consider these three manuscripts, we note the rigid mechanical fidelity of F and B to an accurate original. Note, *e. g.*, their *galoxye* in line 56, their *will* in line 214 already commented on, their *Cipride* in line 277, where many manuscripts write *Cupide*, and the fact that in none of their divergences from the rest of group C is the difference due to misunderstanding or to arbitrary deviation.

Passing now to study the interrelations of the three remaining C group manuscripts, we observe:

1. That Digby cannot be the source of Lt or T. For note the omissions and misreadings of D not appearing in either of the others, lines 27, 54, 109, 119, 144, 166, *178, *202, *220, *238, *245, 255, *296, *354, 375, 377, 389, 391, 426, *438, 460, 462, 493, 530, 540, 562, 573, *582, 587, 644, 659, 666.

2. Similarly, T cannot be the source of D or Lt; *cf.* the errors of this manuscript alone in lines *80, 93, 112, *125, 169, 170, 177, 187, 189, *274, 310, *400, 404, 411, 415, 438, *439, 448, 454, 461, *511, 516, 562, *594, *665, *672, *692.

3. Nor can Lt be the immediate source of either of the other two; *cf.* its divergences and omissions not shared by D or T in lines 1, 5, 17, *25, 27, 29, *40, *42, 79, 81-82, 117, 136, *139, 140, 156, 158, 175, 183, 203, 225, *228, *234, 256, *262, *286, 294, *307, 312, 329, 332, *335, 336, 348, 351, *352, 366, 372, *379, 384, 385, 390, *414, 417, 422, 428, 431, 436, 449, *462, *493, *494, *504, 514, *519, *525, *533, *537, 539, 557-558, *560, 570, 592, 601, 605, 606, 616, 634, 635, 640, *658, 669, 670, *676, 677, 679, 689, 691.

While making this investigation, several facts become apparent. The errors of Lt are constant throughout the poem, and are very largely of omission; Tanner, though showing a number of omissions, some ten in all, errs otherwise only in two trivial insertions and in some fifteen scribal errors, of which but one or two (*cf.* line 672) are glaring; in this respect, as in that of omission, it is far superior to the heedless Lt, and its tendency to miscopy does not appear until eleven stanzas have been transcribed; Lt, on the other hand, showing at the beginning the insensibility to rime sound evinced again in lines *139, *379, 404, 438, 484, 628, 669. In line 114 Lt is accompanied in rime-slip by D and T; in line 551 by D; in all these cases F and B write the correct forms, and we are thus led to emphasize again the accuracy with which the two latter are transcribed, and to recognize that, whatever be the tendency to omit in C, it must have presented very consistent and careful orthography. To this point we shall later return; at present another fact regarding D must be observed.

Digby's omissions are some twelve in number, its insertions two, and of its some nineteen scribal errors only one or two can be considered deliberate; thus perhaps line 644. Its omissions are more serious than those made by Tanner, and its intrinsic value is thus slightly lessened; but this tendency to omit is curiously paralleled by a small class of important cases in which D shows a reading present in the A group, and apparently blurred by omission in all other C group manuscripts. Such cases occur in lines 53, 244, *467, where D has respectively the *how*, the *eke*, and the *Nature* of the A group, not present in F, B, Lt, or T. These agreements of D with the A type are emphasized by the reading of line *7, where D and the A group show *flete or synke* as opposed to the *wake or wynke* of FBLtT. Slighter cases of agreement between D and A are to be seen in lines 28, 148.

The data just cited, especially line *7, point to a union of FBLtT in opposition to D; and as the bond between F and B and the separate position of D have been above demonstrated, it would seem that we are now brought to a genealogy for the C manuscripts opposed to that printed by Mr. Heath. The case is, however, not so clear; a close examination shows, for one thing, points of alliance between D and Lt. Such points of alliance are as follows:

From line 75 on, these readings: line 75, FBT and A *To comon profit*, DLt *The comon*, etc.; line 91, DLt omit the *ek* of FBTA; line 98, DLt *the*, FBTA *my*; line 100, FBTA *To woode*, DLt *To the woode*; line 104, DLt change the general *meteth* or *met* to *dremeth*; line 127, they alter the general *men goon* to *men come*; in line *142 the A reading *astonyd*, FBT *a stounde*, becomes for DLt the infinitive *stonde*; in line 152 DLt show an opening *Thus*; in lines 161, 167, 190, 191, 196 slight points of agreement set them off from FBT; in line 209 they apparently insert a *be* not present in FBTA; in lines 282, 297, 306 they write *broke*, *walked*, *was*, as against FBT *ybroke*, *welk*, *nas*; in line 322 they show an opening *On* not in FBT; in lines *387-90 they have the rime order *ordenaunce* — *governaunce*, while FBT have *governaunce* in both lines. Observe the A readings. In line 457 they read *in any wise*, FBT having no *in*; in line 468 they omit *that*; in line *472 they deviate from all other manuscripts by writing *they that been* instead of *he that hath been*; in line 520 both write *loudenesse* instead of the general *lewdenesse*; in line 527 they read *That* where other manuscripts have *The*; in line 577 both omit *her*, and in line 594 they read *said*, with the A group, FB showing *quoth*, and T omitting; in line *596 DLt omit *gentil*; in line 619 they write an opening *For* (from line 618) instead of the general *And*; in line 642 they change *dure* to *endure*, as does manuscript R; in line 652 they read *This is*, FBT *This*.

These facts indicate a union DLt after line 75 at least, while the Koch-Heath genealogy indicates an opposition DLtT to FB, and within the group DLtT a special bond LtT. The evidence adduced by Koch for this division is as follows: lines 3, 7, 96, 106, 108, 152, 278. (*Anglia*, *loc. cit.*)

Of these examples, I find that the adjective of line 3 shows merely the divergence of A and C, Fairfax plainly erring, and Bodley not presenting the line because of imperfection at the beginning; line 7 has already been cited as a noteworthy case of FBLtT diverging from D and A; line 96 is a mere question of the use or non-use of final *-n*; lines 106, 108, and 278 prove but the alliance of F and B, DLtT here going with A; and in line 152 the difference is in the use of *whether* or *wher that*. F and B show *wher that*, Lt *where*, D *whedir*, T *whether that*; if this isolated example proves anything, it is the alliance of T with FB.

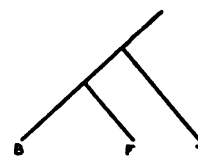
These cases are cited by Koch "beispielsweise;" in *Englische Studien*, XXVII, he has extended his comments on the condition and relationships of these manuscripts by stating his opinion that Digby is contaminated with some manuscript of the A type; in confirmation of this he mentions lines 7, 62, 148, 387, 417, 460.

Lines 7 and 62 have been above noted in support of the division FBLtT *versus* D anterior to line 75. In line 148 D and A¹ show an opening *For* not present in A¹ or FBLtT; but note the beginning of line 151 and the ease of independent transference. In line 387 it is the rime treatment in which Koch finds evidence of A influence on D, and also on Lt; these two manuscripts here agree in the rime sequence *ordenaunce*—*governaunce* with the sub-group HRS of A, other A manuscripts, except Jo, reading *governaunce*—*ordenaunce*, and Jo agreeing with FBT in having *governaunce*—*governaunce*. If these readings prove anything, they prove the possibility of independent but coincident change by various manuscripts. In line 417 D and A omit an *and* present in FBT; in line 460 D and two A manuscripts show *any* instead of *my*; the A manuscripts in question are P and Ff, the interrelations of which will be discussed later; note that the rest of the line garbled by P and Ff is uninjured in D, that the visual error is an easy one, and that the A manuscripts here chancing to agree in part with D are not those which agreed with it in lines 387–90.

I cannot find in these examples adequate proof of A influence on D. Rather do I see, in line *7 of the above cases, evidence of D's retention, with A, of an X reading lost in FBLtT, which manuscripts, up to line 75, are wholly or partly opposed to D. Lines 53 and 62 show this separation also; after line 75 Lt is allied with Digby, as in the *Anelida* text, but, because of its marked tendency to omit, does not share the readings of lines 244 and 467.

It remains to deduce the position of Tanner. According to Krausser, *Anglia*, XIX, p. 212, the contents of this manuscript are written in "zeitlich ziemlich auseinanderliegenden Handschriften;" at what points or with what poems these differences appear I cannot at present say, important as is the question in determining the relation of the manuscript to others. But of the three poems, *Legend of Good Women*, *Parlement of Foules*, and *Deth of Blaunche*, which occur in that sequence in the three manuscripts, F, B, and T, Mr. Pollard (Globe Chaucer) says, in commenting on the first: "F and B must be derived immediately from the same original, and T, which shares most of their glaring faults, from the original of that;" and both

Lange and Koch, discussing the manuscript genealogy of the *Deth of Blaunche*, draw out the relation of the three manuscripts FBT as shown in the accompanying figure. In this they are followed by Heath. Considering now the fact that the three poems occur in like sequence in all these manuscripts, it surely is reasonable to infer that all the scribes worked from one and the same archetype in transcribing this set of poems; and, if dependent on this evidence alone, we should assuredly group our five manuscripts as FBT *versus* DLt, deriving the T at a point higher than the FB original, as in the *Legend of Good Women* and *Deth of Blaunche*. What, now, is the testimony offered by the text of this particular poem?

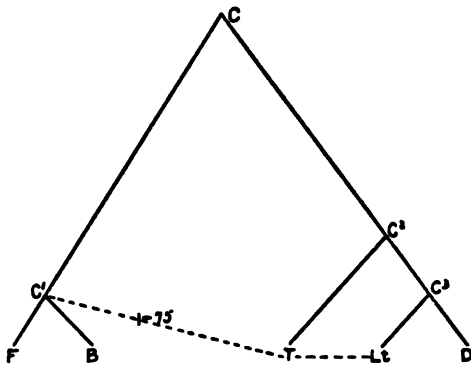


The heading and colophon of T are like those of F and FB, Lt agreeing, in these respects, with D; and after line 75 the concurrence of FBT in readings where LtD diverge, as already noted, is steady. Whether these agreements of T with FB are due to immediate affiliation with their branch, or whether its position be on the DLt stem above them and thus free from their special errors, remains to be discovered. Cases which come under consideration are: lines 3, 8, 56, 59, 78, 119, 149, 154, 437, 466, 512, 569.

Line 3 is an interesting study. DT read *away that fleth*; Lt, *that alwey fleth*. F has here a distorted reading, *the slyder Ioy that alwey slyd*; and B is wanting. In the A group we find: GgFf, *alwey that slit* (*slydeth*); HR, *alwey that fyltt* (*fleeth*); HhCax, *that alwey flytt* (*flit*); P, *alle wey that slitte*; JoLd, *that alwey slite* (*slydyth*). From this we see that one branch of A (HhCaxHR) has *f*-forms, R showing *fleeth*—the DLtT verb—but that GgFf and PJoLd have an *s*-form as in Fairfax. The confusion of *f* and the long *s* is an easy one, and we would infer in this case that A read *slit*, the manuscript at the head of the HhCaxHR branch changing it to *flit*. What, however, did C read? T and Lt, which four lines below unite with F against D, here go with D against F, and show *fleeth*; the soberly accurate Fairfax garbles a reading as nowhere else in the poem, but garbles in a manner which compels us to infer that *slyd* was certainly before the scribe's eyes. The safest deduction appears to be that C also read *slyd* or *slit*; that the DLtT ancestor passed this through *flit* to *fleeth*, just as the R manuscript of the A stock did, F retaining the parent reading. Such a supposition argues a bond DLtT at this point.

In line 8 we have an agreement of TF against a DLt common error; in lines 56 and 59 orthographical differences of FB from DLtT; in line 78 an omission of an important word, *soth*, by both T and Lt; in line 119 a retention by D alone of a word present in the A group; in line 149 there is a slight orthographical agreement of TLt; in line 154 DLtT have a *me* not present in FB; in line 437 is a TLt omission of *be*; in line 466 LtT read *For* instead of the general *Forth*; in line 512 DLtT read, incorrectly, *worthiest* instead of *unworthiest*; in line 569 T and D both show a *tho* not present in FBLtA, where the Lt reading may, of course, be caused by omission, as opposed to the DT reading.

Of these lines, *3, 56, 59, 154, *512, 569 indicate DLtT kinship; the orthographical correctness of FB in line 59 and their accuracy in line 512 as opposed to DLtT make these two lines arguments for a DLtT stem diverging from FB. Line 78 does not show evidence for either stem-division against the other, and the proof of TLt special alliance consists in their common omission of *soth* in this line, another common omission of *be* in line 437, and a slight common error in line 466. Reviewing the especial DLt bonds already given, we see that only in the rimes of lines 387–90, as in heading and colophon, is T after line 75 so distinctly with FB as to unite it with that stem rather than with the DLt; all other special features of DLt there mentioned can be ascribed to their common immediate ancestor.



Of especially close bond T with D, line 3—the *away* instead of *ahwey*—is the only noteworthy case, 569 being probably a point for a DLtT connection.

An alliance DLtT *versus* FB is now sufficiently probable after line 75; anterior to that point the affiliation of TLt is partly also with FB; cf. lines 7, 53, 62. From about line 75 on Lt adheres to D, while T perhaps had access to an FB codex; cf. lines 387–90 and the colophon.

From what has already been said regarding the transcription of the *Legend of Good*

Women, the *Parlement of Foules*, and the *Deth of Blaunche* in that order by the three manuscripts, F, B, and T, it will appear inconsistent to assign to T a closer kinship with DLt in one of these three texts than with FB. But it is to be noted that elsewhere in the T codex the *Anelida* and Lydgate's *Black Knight* are copied in close conjunction; that Krausser, in his edition of the latter poem (*Anglia*, XIX), finds D and T connected in a group opposed to F and B, and that the Koch-Heath genealogy of the *Anelida* text places T on the same stem with DLt, above them and opposed with them to FB. Assuming these conclusions to be well grounded, we have the possibility that in the *Parlement of Foules* T (and Lt) worked partly with FB in the first few stanzas as in the poem preceding, but then for some reason deviated to use the copy which they had followed in transcribing the *Black Knight*. Further it might be remarked that the undetailed genealogy which so far lies before the student for the *Legend of Good Women* does not preclude the possibility that the difference of T from FB may there be one of difference in stem, as here indicated. The freedom of T from FB errors in the former poem, alluded to by Mr. Pollard, may be because of a difference in stem. A study of the manuscripts as wholes, and of their interrelations as Chaucer codices, will perhaps lead to the construction of a general tree for the minor poems.

One fact appears with especial distinctness as consequence of these inferences:

the very great value, intrinsically and by position, of FB. The tree is as shown on the preceding page.

THE A GROUP

Passing over now to the texts deriving from A, we observe an alliance between manuscripts Gg and Ff as opposed to the other manuscripts; *cf.* lines 22 and 24 (rime), 46 (omission GgFf), 62, 64, *65, 74, *80 (see footnote *ante*), 84, *88, 115 (*cf.* Cax), *119, 126 (*cf.* C group), 142, 148, 167, 168, 169, 186, 204, 205, *206, *221, *238, 269, *284, 317, 325, 344 (omission GgFf?), 352 (*cf.* Cax), 366, 368, 381, 385 (*cf.* Cax), 389, 396, 400, 480 (*cf.* S), 594 (*cf.* Cax), 642, 650. The decrease in group-divergence after line 400 is very noticeable.

Taking up first the larger body of texts, we find a division of JoLd from HR; *cf.* lines 2, *4 (error by JoLd), omissions by HR in 8, 17, 19, 26, a JoLd deviation in 10, an HR deviation in 14, a JoLd change in 22 and 24, line 30 (omission by JoLd), 34, 35 (slip by HR), 39 (deviation by JoLd), *41 (slip by JoLd), 43, 49 HR, 56, 60 (insertion by HR), 67, 69 (omission by HR), 72 (slip HR), 73, 74, 89 (omission by HR), 96 (omission by JoLd), *104 (deviation by JoLd), 106, 112, 117, 121. With line 142 the Laud fragment ends, but the HR differences from Jo continue to indicate their different parentage: *cf.* their omissions in lines 156, *174, *185, 219, *249, 278, 408, 411, 425, 460, 495, 526, 548, 588, *654, 656. Further slips by the HR ancestor alone may be noted in lines 144, *151, 159, 196, 201, 210, 224, *239, 253, 305, 350, 369, *412, *454, *459, 477, *520, 534, 553, *556, 564, 666. The carelessness of the HR parent manuscript is evident from this list.

That R is not transcribed from H may be proved by H's lack of lines 296-302 and of stanza 98, all present in R, and by R's avoidance of slips or omissions made by H in lines 7, 94, 249, 271, 285, 396, 440, 478, 483, 557, 616, 659; that H was not copied from R is plain by its freedom from R's numerous omissions and still more numerous errors or deviations; *cf.* lines 1, 39, 43, *45, 46, *51, 80, 93, 101, 103, 117, 137, 146, 152, 162, 163, 180-181, 194, 226, 229, 247, 248, 249, 306, 307, 353, 382, 403, 414, 434, 458, 490, 499, 508, 519, 527, 536, 558, 590, 594, 601, 620, 623, 642, 649, 674.

That Jo and Ld were transcribed independently follows, first, from Ld's freedom from Jo's omission and deviation in lines 3, 9, 28, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 68, 71, 76, 77, 79, 87, 98, 105, 109, 113, 114, and secondly from Jo's immunity from Ld's slips, lines 16, 17, 19, 27, 33, 52, 66, 67, 99, 116, 122, 133, 134, 137. Jo's further variants, largely of omission, are exemplified in lines 143, 149, 163, 166, 169, 172, 202, 206, 207, 209, 220, 226, 233, 250, 257, 260, 261, 271, 297, 299, 306, 313, 315, 316, 324, 325, 326, 333, 336, 337, 338, 339, 342, 345, 349, 350, 355, 372, 380, 382, 395, 398, 406, 418, 430, 433, 435, 440, 448, 464, 467, 468, 469, 486, 487, 491, 496, 505, 516, 518, 521, 522, 524, 528, 542, 549, 550, 553, 560, 562, 563, 571, 584, 588, 589, 593, 606, 609, 619, 623, 628, 641, 648, 665.

From the above it appears that any one of the three manuscripts, HRJo, is

inferior in accuracy to D or T of the C group, that the pair FB of the C group is superior to any one of these A manuscripts, and that the FB ancestor far outweighs in value either the HR parent or the JoLd parent.

Numerous as are the errors of the HR parent manuscript, they are much exceeded by those of the cognate Selden manuscript. It may be stated at the outset, with regard to S, that, aside from the linguistic corruptions introduced into the text by its northern scribe, its readings are rendered highly untrustworthy by the liberties which have been taken with the poem in transcription. Examples of this are so frequent and so flagrant that citations in proof are superfluous; the Selden readings cannot be appealed to unless supported by strong evidence from other sources, and they are especially dubious in cases where they present apparent improvement. For it is beyond question that the Selden scribe made his alterations deliberately; his changes for the sake of obtaining northern rime would alone show this. Accordingly, an isolated reading offered by S is of no value in a critical text; and an agreement between S and any other manuscript bearing traces of conscious attempt at betterment is to be regarded with suspicion. To this point I shall return when discussing manuscript Gg.

The place of S is in the sub-group comprising HRJoLd; and its affiliation within that sub-group is with the HR branch; cf. lines previously cited in discussing those two manuscripts. Its freedom from characteristic HR slips indicates a derivation from the stem at a point somewhat higher than the HR parent; but in several cases it shows a resemblance to the Gg type. These examples are: line 166, GgS read the infinitive instead of the third singular; line 393, GgS insert an adverb before *wel*; line 480, GgS change a word to avoid identical rime; line 551, GgS use the superlative instead of the positive. Such agreements may be due to contamination, or they may be due to independent attempt at emendation; the latter theory is rendered possible by the different adverbs used in line 393, but does not seem so probable in line 480. In either case, no corroboration is given the Gg by these Selden readings. They cannot have been those of A², since no other manuscript of that group shows them; if they are due to contamination, they of course carry no weight; and if the result of independent change by S and Gg, their presence in S, the most arbitrary and regardless of all our texts, is directly injurious to the credit of the Gg, which, as we shall later see, shows some tendencies of the same sort.

The Pepys manuscript is full of slight errors of a sort indicating a scribe both careless and unconscious; no such frank tampering with the text appears here as is continual in the Selden. Examples of error are: lines 7, 17, 18, 19, *21 (omission), 26 and 27 transposed, omissions in 26, 27, 29, 34, 43, insertion in 28, errors in 46, 49, 51, 64, 72, 83, 84, 88, 98, 107, 112, 120, 126, 143, 145 (omitted), 175, 189, 192 (omitted), 194, 196, 197, 200, 208, 209, 210, 212, 219, 220, 222, 228, 229, 236, 237, 240, 256, *262 (omission), 276, 278, 282, 296, 300, 303, 329, 348, 353, 370, 371, 379, 383, *385 (omission), 388, 397, 403, 410, 412, 420, 424, 431, 437, 439 (cf. HR), 444,

445, 479, 482, 483, 484, 499, 504, 511, 514, 522, 523, 544, 559, 564, *567 (omission), 568, 572, 577, *579 (omission), 584, 585, 588, 590, 592, 594, *595 (insertion), 599, 601, *604 (omission), 606, 611, 615, 616, 618, 619, 638, 640, 642, 643 (omitted), *645 (omission), *651 (insertion), 654, 656, 659, 664, 666. Few of these omissions, and still fewer of the deviations, are of a major character; but the dropping out or insertion of particles and unimportant words is constant, especially the tendency to omit. The manuscript is intrinsically inferior even to the Longleat, and is about on a par with the Jo.

Among the A group manuscripts the affiliation of P is with the larger body of texts, those opposed to GgFf: witness the readings of lines 49, 53, 62, 64, *65, 74, *80, 84, 88, 115, 142, 148, 206, 214, 221, 238, 284, 389, etc. Its closer relationship is with the JoLd pair, as may be seen from lines 3, 10, *14, *73, 96 (common omission), 102 (JoP), *104, 190, 260, 266, 298, 307, *320, *327-8, 333 (common omission), 410, 414-419-440 (common omissions), *456, 468 (common omission), 480, 516 (word order), *521, 541 (common omission), *558, *563, 594. The exact placing of this manuscript is rendered difficult, not only by its possible contamination with the Ff type (see below), but by the fact that the lax and slovenly transcription of Jo is hardly sufficient, after the evidence of the Ld fragment is withdrawn (line 142), for us to determine the continuance or non-continuance of a bond between P and Jo. Also, as has already been remarked, the deviations of the groups from one another are so much less pronounced after line 250 than before, that the proof of separation or affiliation is beyond that point scanty. But it would seem that P derives from the JoLd stem at a point higher than they; cf. lines 4, 5, *10, *22, 24, *30, 39, 41, 52, 53, 59, and 117 (orthography), 121; its freedom from Jo's errors in the remainder of the text may be due to the continuance of its position, or may be owing to the neglect of Jo; lines *320 and 336 may be noted as evidence of a PJo bond. A possible contact between P and the Ff type will be discussed in speaking of the latter manuscript below. An agreement PCax is line 175. Cf. line 511 (?).

The alliance of the Hh fragment (lines 1-365) is also with the sub-group HRSPJoLd, as is evident from the readings of lines 49, 62, *65, *80, 88, 148, 169, 192, 204, *206, *221, *238, 271, 284, *313, 344, 354. Within that sub-group it cannot be classed with PJoLd, because of the readings of lines 3, *10, *14, 43, 52, 53, 96, 104, 173, 222, *320, 336, of which instances lines 3, 14, 52, 53, 104, and 222 point to an alliance of Hh with the stem terminating in HR. But, although on nearly all crucial points a member of the larger division of A, the Hh exhibits in a few cases resemblance to the GgFf type. Such cases are as follows: in line 53 the retention of the word *worldes*, lacking in all A manuscripts except Gg and Cax; in line 119 the *eke* of GgFf; in line 126 the *tell* of FfCax instead of the *say* of all other manuscripts; in line 202 the *so* of Ff; in line 278 the *ther* of GgFfPJo; in line 310 the *ther* of GgPJo and the *brid* of GgFfCax; in line 346, together with C and Cax, the (incorrect) form *egles*, all other A manuscripts reading *eles*.

This last example cannot be taken to indicate a CHh bond. Such cases of independent coincidence occur occasionally in these manuscripts; for instance, in line 511 P agrees with the C group in reading *as good be still*, other A manuscripts having *as fair be still*, Cax, *better be still*. Again, cf. in line 362 the *ful* of Cax, S, and Lt, apparently carried down from line 359; or the insertion of *most* by D and Ff in line 375; or the LtFf change of *lord* to *god* in line 379. The independent writing of *egles* for *eles* by two of the, say, thirty manuscripts, C and Hh, is not surprising when one considers the constant recurrence of bird names and of the word *egle* in the poem. Note the change of *faconde* to *faucon* by the PJo stem and by S in lines 521, 558.

From the other cases above given we infer a possible bond GgFfHh; line 278 and part of line 310 might be taken to indicate merely a position of Hh close to A¹, the HRS differing by their own omission; but the other instances cannot be so explained, and we must assume one of two things: on the one hand, a contamination between Hh or its immediate ancestor and Ff or its immediate ancestor; on the other hand, coincident and independent deviation by Ff and Hh.

We must, on the theory of contamination, posit between A¹ and Ff a manuscript retaining many A¹ characteristics lost by Ff, the Hh contaminations being with such a text rather than with A¹ or Ff. For, to take examples from the list just given, the *so* of Ff, line 202, not in Gg, is present in Hh, while in line 310 a *ther* omitted by Ff, retained in Gg, is present in Hh. In line 53 the important word *worldes*, present in Hh, is not transcribed by Ff, but in line 128 FfHh have *tell* instead of the *say* of Gg and all other manuscripts. Gg's agreement here with other texts indicates that A read *say*; consequently the change shared by Hh took place in the special Ff stem, below A¹; such a fact, together with Hh's avoidance of some Ff omissions, may indicate the existence of the text to which I allude. The amount of agreement is, however, so slight as to permit of the hypothesis of coincidence. See below under Caxton.

The errors of Hh are exemplified in lines 3, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21 (cf. FfR), 22, 27, 30, 35, 37, 43, 49 (cf. GgFf), 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 64, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72 (cf. HR), 77, 78, 80, 81, 84, 90, 94, 101, 104, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 134, 138, 143, 145, 148, 150, 151, 154, 162, 167, 169, 172, 174, 176, 179, 180, 186, *196, 199, 205, 207, 214, 215, 219, 224, 225, *226, 228, *230, 244, 246, 247, 248, 251, *268, 269, 274, 277, 279, 293, 297, 299, 301, 306, 307, 313, 315, 328, 331, 333, 337, 339, 348, 350, *353, 361, 364. Of these errors some fourteen are orthographic carelessnesses, of a sort indicating a scribe whose mind is not following his work; and many of the omissions (ca. 25) are trivialities of a similar character. But though major errors are not frequent, and evidence of deliberate alteration does not appear, the constant slips of the text and its possible contaminated condition deprive it of authoritative value. Its position appears to be in the HRS branch, above those texts.

From the data just given regarding contamination in Hh, it will be seen that Cax shares in some of those peculiarities. Like Hh, also, Cax is a member of the larger sub-group of A, as a glance over the crucial readings listed for Hh will show;

and its nearer affiliation with HRS, though deriving higher than they, may be inferred from lines 8, 30, 35, 54, 60, 89, 156, 174, 196, 239, 249, 253, *261, *266, *362, 414, 495, *553. A link with Hh in lines 53 and 346 has already been mentioned, and there exists also a series of points common to Cax and the GgFf type. Such cases are: lines 54 (Gg), 93 (Gg), 115 (A), 205 (A), 222 (GgFfCaxPJo), 285 (A), *305 (A), 328 (A), *352 (A); in line 354 Cax deviates from A, with all other manuscripts except Digby; 383 (Ff), 385 (A), 387-90 (A), 439 (Gg), 452 (Gg, common omission), *473 (Gg), 503 (GgS), 507 (FfA), 517 (Gg, common omission), 518 (Ff), 594 (A), 602 (Gg), 621 (Gg), 644 (FfA). The influence on Cax, in lesser points, of the GgFf type will appear from the above list; but a minute examination shows that only in line 54, in the *yere* of line 473, and perhaps the *I* of line 503, is there probable a contact with Gg itself. Caxton's treatment of the entire line 473 and its alliance with the FfA² reading in such a case as line 507 indicate its lack of any bond with Gg in especial. It appears to me much more credible that its few A¹ readings were derived from the A¹ type than that they were due to the Gg type; the rendering of line 54 may be proof of contact between Gg and Cax early in the poem, but the *I* of line 503, shared also by S, may be derived by independent error from the line just above.

The place of Cax, so far as it can be determined for a text known to be composite, is on the HRS stem, above those manuscripts, and probably in close contact with Hh. Its errors are not many, but it shows plainly the editorial hand; note stanza 51, where it avoids identity of adjective in lines 352 and 354, as does A¹, and also avoids the identity of rime seen in the same lines in A¹ and D. Owing to its frankly editorial character, the Caxton recension can be used only in support of evidence already credible. This text is, indeed, the only one of those before us which shows, *e. g.*, in lines 352-4, any clear trace of contamination. From Caxton's own words, in the preface to his second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, we infer that he might, in other cases as in that volume, correct one text by another; just what his conception of "hurtyng and dyffamyng" Chaucer's poems "in dyuerce places" was we shall not know until a close comparison of the two editions has been made. But in the occasional agreements of the very arbitrary Selden with the somewhat arbitrary Gg it is quite possible to see, not contamination, but a coincident and independent alteration of the text. Similarly, in the hypothetical relations of Ff and P discussed below, or those of Hh and Ff already alluded to, the evidence for contamination is of the frailest kind. No conspicuous alterations, no insertions, no body of conflate readings, are to be seen in these texts; even in the case of the archetypes A and C the tendency of one of them to error is so greatly remedied after line 250 that from that point on all the manuscripts run together. The general steadiness of the text is no less marked than the slightness of evidence for contamination; for the change of *fowl* to *brid*, of *halfe* to *syde*, of *say* to *tell*, might well occur independently to two scribes; if *tho* inserted after *Quod* in line 655 GgH is no evidence of bond between those manuscripts, then

an inserted *tho* after *Quod* in line 569 TD need not force us to draw those two texts together. It is, of course, the mass of agreements which tells; but when we observe that at best these agreements are slight and few in hundreds of lines, we hesitate to insist on the contaminated condition of any text, save perhaps Caxton.

With the two remaining manuscripts of this group, Gg and Ff, we reach the most critical and interesting part of our discussion. As has already been mentioned, these two manuscripts differ from the rest of the group in a series of variant readings which grow suddenly and noticeably less after line 400 or so. This lessening in divergence is due probably, first, to the change in the Ff copyist at line 414; here a new scribe, W. Calverley, begins work, and completes the poem. According to Mr. Furnivall's note at this point in the Chaucer Society's reprint, Calverley "follows another text;" according to the same authority, *Trial Forewords*, p. 54, Calverley "follows Fairfax."

If the list of divergences between A and C, already given, be consulted, it will be seen that their differences after line 413, after line 250 in fact, are very slight. Only five can be cited—lines 436, 501, 511, 544, 666; and on all these points Ff is with the A group. Further, the characteristic FB readings of lines 612, 623, 669 do not appear in Ff, which is also free from the line *476 omission of Fairfax alone. I cannot, therefore, see adequate cause for arguing Ff's transcription from F or any C manuscript; the closer agreement of Ff with the main body of texts after line 413 must be otherwise explained.

Up to line 414 the union of Gg and Ff is generally clear, though sometimes obscured by the idiosyncrasies of the two scribes. Ff has, in the ante-Calverley portion, a tendency to omission and to distortion of the text second only to the Selden. For cases of the former fault see lines 3, 7, 12, 13, 22, 24, 26, 48, *49, *53, *57, 60, *65, 66, 72, 87, 94, 95, *102, 107, *117, 118, 119, 143, 146, 147, 150, 156, *162, 163, 165, 179, line 180, *186, *188, 195, 197, 198, 200, 219, 220, 229, *234, *242, *259, 270, *285, 286, 298, 310, *313, 315, 316, 318, 333, 340, 345, 348, 349, 361, 363, 388, 393, 396, 440, 442, 456, 468, 477, 486, 509, *531, *554, *567, *604, 625, 637, *657, 658, *660, 666 (*cf.* Jo), 678. Ff's misreadings and variants are to be seen in lines 5, *6, 8, 11, 17, 18, *30, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 46, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, *67, 68, 73, 74, *78, 80, 81, 82, *93, 103, *104, 105, 110, *111, 112, 113, 123, 126, 133, *139, 140, 145, 147, *149, 151, 152, 153, *159, 166, 177, 178, 184, 190, 192, 196, 197, 199, 201, 202, 209, 212, 213, *214, 216, 221, 223, 224, 228, 230, 231, 238, 246, 247, *248, 252, *253, 254, 256, 260, 262, 265, *266, 267, 271, 274, *277, 278, 279, *280, 282, 284, 287, 288, 293, 294, 295, 299, 300, 301, 304, *306, 341, 343, 348, 353, 360, 366, 375, 376, *379, 380, 381, *382, 383, 386, 388, 390, *391, *392, 397, 402, *408, 409, 410, *411, 412 and 413 transposed, 419, 430, 431, 439, 441, 451, *460, 487, 488, 493, 505, *518, 520, 532, 533, 534, 543, 552, 563, 595, 596, 605, *616, *623, *634, 652, 655, 664.

Not only are the divergences of A and C very few after line 250, as already mentioned, but within the A group the differences between A' and A' become minor after that point. The Ff scribe continues to err, in the lines 250-413, as previously; but it is difficult to see with what text he is working, because of the approximation of all manuscripts during the last two-thirds of the poem. We may observe, however, that the noteworthy GgFf agreements after line 250 are common omissions in lines 344, 368, 389, the presence of *was* or *were* in line *284, a common deviation in line *313, and (inserted?) *wel* in line *396, common errors in lines *354 and 400, the rime of line *480 (*cf.* S), and the *doke* of line 594 (*cf.* Cax). Lines 366, 381, 642, 650 are trivial coincidences, and 317 may be an omission by Ff. Common idiosyncrasies in lines 284, *305, *313, 352, *354, *396 show the GgFf union still existent from line 250 up to 414; beyond that point lines *480, *594 still hold Ff to Gg, and the only marked likeness between Ff and any other A text is in the case of the Pepys.

The Pepys manuscript, as already mentioned, shows some traces of contamination. Slight likenesses between it and Gg are traceable as follows: line 125, GgP *syde*, other manuscripts *halfe*; line 152, GgP no opening *So*, though Gg has it in the margin (H also omits *So*); line 198, GgP *And*, others *A*; line 203, GgP *brid*, others *foul*; line 224, GgP *with*, others *by*; line 632, GgP *I*, FfA *it*. After Calverley begins transcription with line 414, more distinct likenesses between his Ff text and P appear; thus line *460, Pff *any wight*, others *my wit*; line 487, Pff an opening *But*; line 518, Pff Cax insert *ful* (from line 517?); line 543, Pff insert *it*; lines 567 and 604, Pff both omit, but in a way which indicates that direct contact did not take place between them; in line 644 they agree in word-order against the others. In line 567 P omits *love*, Ff *love him*; in line 604 both omit *said*, P also showing the general *and*, while Ff has *as*. The reading of line 533 indicates, as do the two lines just given, that P was not contaminated with Ff direct; in line 533 Ff has *matere*, P and other manuscripts *manere*, though in the same line FfJo and P have *that* where other texts show *than*. In line 632 FfA show *it*, GgC *I*.

If contact was not directly between P and Ff, either the P immediate ancestor or the Ff immediate ancestor must have been concerned, and in the former case Jo also might have been affected. Cases in which Jo or JoLd do show GgFf or Ff readings are: line 2, GgFfJoLd *sharp*—*hard*, P and others *hard*—*sharp*; line *14, GgFfPJoLd *say*, all other manuscripts *can*; line 39, GgFfJoLd *of the*, PCaxC *al the*; line 89, GgJoLd *of* (*cf.* FfP *with*), other texts *of*; line 105, Pff insert *that*; line 203, JoFf insert *that*; line 260, FfPJo *Of*, others *in*; 333, FfPJo omit *that*; line 414, GgFfPJo show no *ful*, present in C and in the other A stem; line 440, FfPJo omit *so*, line 468 they omit *here*, line 505 they insert *the*. *Cf.* Gg or Ff ancestor and P in line 632.

It will be seen that in no case except the trivial line 89 is it necessary to weigh Gg influence on PJoLd; the question is how the agreement of Ff with P or JoLd or PJoLd is to be accounted for. In lines 2 and 39, P goes with other manuscripts, JoLd

agreeing with Ff; and yet the reading of line *14 shows these manuscripts and Gg united in divergence from all other texts. The remaining cases above given are either variations in very minor detail, or agreement in omission between Ff, P, and Jo, in line 414 A', P, and Jo. In these latter instances it is therefore probably the PJo common ancestor below A' which is concerned, as in line *14. We have then to explain the P readings in lines 2 and 39, and the agreement of Gg with FfPJoLd in lines 14 and 414. These last two bring into consideration A', or rather the immediate ancestor already posited, since the readings of Ff in, *e. g.*, lines 533, 567, and 604 have already proved that Ff itself did not influence P; and since the participation of Gg in lines 14 and 414 indicates that the agreement Pff cannot be an attraction of Ff toward P. Contamination between these two lost manuscripts, the P source and the Ff source, may thus be looked to to explain the minor likenesses between Ff and PJo. Too much stress should not be laid on the common omissions of these manuscripts after line 413; it is the cases of lines 2, 14, and 39 which deserve attention. Line 2 is a matter of word-order, GgFfJoLd, not P, showing *sharp—hard*; in line 39 GgFfJoLd read *of*, P *al*, the latter being probably the ancestral reading. It appears to me that it is easy to overemphasize the importance of these agreements; the misreading of *al* to *of* is a very easy one; *cf.* Lt 17. The common change of *can* to *say* in line 14 by GgFfPJoLd, and the concurrence in some omissions, after line 413, by FfPJo, are thus the evidence for a contamination between the P ancestor and the Ff ancestor. Bearing in mind the ease of omission, and the occurrence of the (incorrect) *say* in line 13, whence transference to line 14 might be ready, I do not emphasize the need for positing a bond between P and Ff. Nor do I see reason for separating Gg and Ff in the portion line 413 to end; the greater accuracy and sobriety of Calverley and the agreements in lines 480 and 594 seem to me sufficient, in the absence of any proved attraction toward other texts, to retain Gg and Ff side by side.

Turning to the Gg manuscript, we note omissions in lines *57, 77, 138, 324, 365?, 450, 452?, 471, 517?, *520, 527, *533, *564?, 583?, 626?, *627, 637?, *670, *678. The shortness of the list is a very noticeable fact regarding this manuscript; and I mark some of the references with a query if the change there be not rather a deliberate alteration by the Gg scribe. This question is raised by the frequent tendency in this copyist to vary from the body of manuscripts, and to vary, in a number of cases, in favor of what, from the modern point of view, seems superior sense or superior metre. Such variations may be observed in lines 27, 30, 34, 50, 54 (*cf.* Cax), *166, *232, 298, 307, *363, 393 (*cf.* S), 428, 452 (*cf.* Cax), 460, *498, 517 (*cf.* Cax), 537, 543, *551, 557, 585, 613 (note loss of *es* in 614), 616?, *632, 637 (*cf.* Cax), *655 (*cf.* H), 670, *672. But we may also note constant slight changes, sometimes errors, sometimes perhaps deviations for a fancied improvement's sake, in lines 12, 15, 22, 76, 79, 82, 85, 110, 125, 160, 203, 207, *214, 279, 284?, 305, 348, *356, *358, 379, 382, 391 (*cf.* Ff), 394, 401?, 426, 432, 435, *455, 457, 462, 476, 490, 497, 505, 506,

553, 558, 560, 561, pronouns in 562, 563 and 569, 564, 573, 581, 593, 594, 598, 600, 611, 614, 619, 626, 638, 644, 645, 647, 669, 674, 677, 689, 692; and, further, a body of deviations to detriment of sense or metre in lines 31, *65, 84, 132, *137, 140, 167, 170, 175, 204, *261, *326, *436, *438, 471, *507, *516, 518, 540, 577, 583, *596, 622, *641, *662, *663. Such facts impair the value of this manuscript, and render its unsupported evidence of questionable worth in a critical text construction.

For it will hardly be maintained by any that the Gg manuscript in itself represents the Chaucerian text; did we assert that, we must of course accept it bodily, with its unpleasing as well as its agreeable peculiarities. Nor can it be maintained that Gg's immediate ancestor A¹ is the archetype; for such a theory would not only compel us to accept all GgFf readings against A³C—note, *e. g.*, lines 80, 84, 167 and 168, *214, *221, 305, 400, etc.—but it would leave us to account for A³C agreements against A¹ in these instances and in such cases as lines 88, *313, *354, as well as for agreements FfA³C against Gg as noted above.

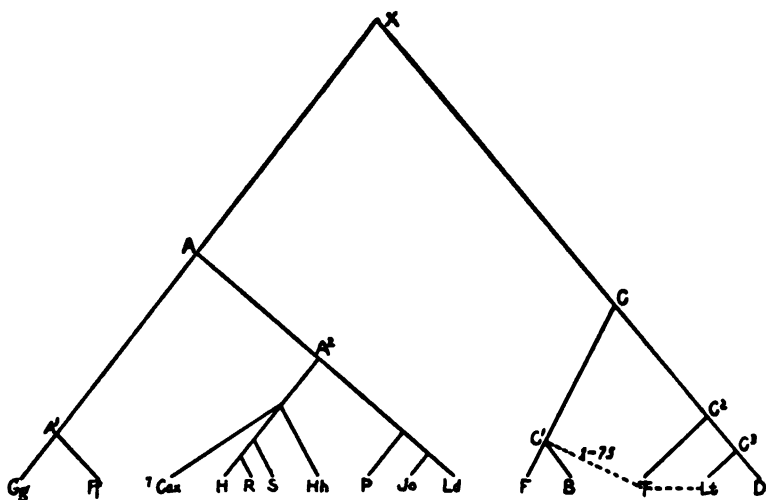
The ground here taken is that the scribe of the Gg worked consciously, and in some cases successfully, toward the betterment of the text before him; an interesting example of such procedure is to be detected in line 358. This line runs: *The waker goos the cokkow most onkynde*, against which, in the Six-text reprint, there stands an editorial note telling us that the *m* of *most* has been altered from *en*. When I observe that all other manuscripts read *euer vnkynde*, and note the Gg tendency to alteration, I cannot avoid the inference that the Gg scribe here began to copy the regular *euer*, and, perhaps feeling that a monosyllable would give a smoother line-flow, changed after he had written two letters. Note other Gg corrections, lines 33, 97, 255, 260, 336?, 385, 420, 422, 436?, 438?, 448, 450, 454, 478, 545, 561, 610, 627; these, however, are true corrections.

Should it appear questionable to the student that a Chaucerian manuscript present cases of scribal betterment in transcription, recourse may be had to a parallel example in the work of Lydgate. In Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden* (Heilbronn, 1881) there will be found at pp. 376 ff. a reprint of Lydgate's *Saint Edmund*, from manuscript Harley 2278. This poem was written on the occasion of a visit of King Henry VI. to Bury St. Edmunds, at the command of the abbot of the monastery; and Harley 2278 is the royal gift-copy, beautifully executed and illuminated. At the foot of each page Dr. Horstmann prints the variants of manuscript Ashmole 46, written "perhaps by the same hand as the Harley," and "seemingly a later recension of the text by the poet himself." This later manuscript was dedicated to Edward IV., whose name replaces that of Henry VI. in the text. Whether this revision be by Lydgate himself or not—which raises the unsettled question of the date of his death—it is curious to note the textual changes obviously made for metre's sake. To instance but one example: of the thirty-six headless lines occurring in lines 1-725, twenty-three are removed in the later recension, either by the rearrangement of the line or by the prefixing of *And*, *For*, *Like*, etc. Cf. lines 286, 290, 300, 308, 314, 320, 362, 369,

407, 421, 434, 436, 465, 467, 475, 580, 581, 582, 626, 637, 652, 707, 723. In several cases also the "Lydgatian cæsure" is smoothed out; cf. lines 468, 584, 606.

I see no imperative reason to feel, with Dr. Horstmann, that these emendations were made by Lydgate himself. No modern conscientious scruples would deter either Ashmole 46 or Gg from modifying the text before him; and careless though the great majority of mediæval scribes may be, we have no ground for asserting that Chaucer was the only man in two centuries possessed of metrical sensitiveness. Nor should we forget that when, by refusing the isolated evidence of Gg, we are compelled to deduce for X what seems to us an awkward line, we are not necessarily arrived at

Chaucer because we have constructed X. The argument from Chaucer's literary mastery to his metrical mastery, so long tacitly relied upon, still holds good; and the possibility or necessity of conjectural emendation is not excluded by the construction of a critical text. It should be emphasized, however, that already in the fifteenth century scribes could try their hands, and not unsuccessfully, at editing. Such



an "editor," it appears to me, was Gg; and his isolated testimony, or his testimony when supported only by a manuscript either contaminated with his own type or visibly tampering with the text, such as Caxton or Selden, cannot be accepted as decisive, if we are to deduce X. Nor do I find myself in full agreement with the valuation of A as the better group. When the tendency of C to omit has been allowed for, as also its occasional slight lapses already mentioned, it will be recognized that the C group offers a set of readings certainly equal in value to those of A; and it will also be recognized that the complete freedom of F and B from any tendency to meddle with the text, together with their sober accuracy of transcription and of orthography, render them intrinsically the most trustworthy of the manuscript pairs as witnesses. Compared with them, the Gg is as Froude among historians.

The text resulting from these manuscript studies differs from those already printed in certain metrical points, notably the increase in the number of headless lines, and the presence of a small number of lines moving awkwardly. In such a line

¹ Caxton is probably slightly contaminated with the Gg type; S, Hh, and P, whose contaminated condition has been asserted by editors, are discussed above.

as 632 the editor will not find it necessary to appeal to the *certis* of manuscript Gg; the verse may be read headless as *If I werē resoun than wold I*. The objection which might be raised here is that the suggestive emphasis on the first *I* is thereby lost; and such a line as *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, 1052, *But thou wys, thou wost, thou mayst, thou art al*, would be instanced in proof of Chaucer's nice use of emphasis. An assertion of omission by Ff, A², and C must then be made to justify the adoption of the *certis* into the text.

In line 363 an editor desirous of incorporating in his text the Gg *The rauēn wys the crowe wit(h) vois of care* would have to emphasize the unlikelihood of Chaucer's changing from singular to plural and speaking of *ravens* and *crows* after previously naming but one bird of each class; he would point also to the possibility of *rauēnwys* being misread *rauēnys*; just as in line 221 both A¹ and C dropped a letter from *be force* and read *before*, so here A² and C might lose a *w* and pluralize *crow* to correspond with *rauēnys*, while Ff's tendency to omission might explain its lack of the adjective present in Gg. The Gg readings, however, cannot be adopted, when isolated, unless susceptible of some such justification; and the critical text of this poem lies, generally speaking, nearer FB than Gg. The presence in it of headless lines is hardly surprising. In Herrig's *Archiv*, XCIV (1895), p. 443, Professor Zupitza remarked, speaking of *Canterbury Tales*, D 2201: "Ich glaube, dass Chaucer, wie vor der ersten Hebung, so auch gelegentlich in der Pause eine Senkung weggelassen hat." A comparison of Professor ten Brink's disavowal of the headless line in Chaucer, made in 1884, will suggest to the student the change of opinion on this point, and will perhaps support the conclusion foreshadowed by this investigation.

It remains for me to acknowledge the advice and help of Professor John Matthews Manly, at whose suggestion this study was undertaken; and I desire also to express my constant sense of gratitude to the scholar who first introduced me to Early English work, Professor Arthur S. Napier, of the University of Oxford.

**THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN THE WORKS
OF NIKOLAUS LENAU**

THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN THE WORKS OF NIKOLAUS LENAU

AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION

CAMILLO VON KLENZE

I

AFTER many decades of a purely intellectual view of life, the nations of Europe in the eighteenth century veered about in fierce reaction and proclaimed the emotions of paramount importance. The soulless, though admirable, elegance of the French classics and of Pope, the acrid intellectuality of Voltaire, were pronounced insufficient, and the tenets of Rousseau for a time seemed the all-saving creed. Rousseau was not the first to give utterance to the new principles; Thomson and others had been his talented forerunners; but he became the guiding power of the new generation, because his ideas were more violent, more clearly defined, and expressed in a style glowing with passion and irresistible rhetoric.

Among the new laws of living which Rousseau preached with enviable skill, the most important was the return to nature. By this he meant particularly the overthrow of fettering and unwholesome conventionalities; but more than that, in many of his writings, notably the *Confessions* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, he so often and so poetically spoke of the beauties of the visible world that in the history of culture he stands as the first powerful interpreter of landscape after an epoch of indifference toward its charms. His whole temperament, however, was intense, and all he said and felt was extreme; his whole point of view resulted from a protest—and no reformer yet has quite escaped exaggeration. Hence his treatment of nature, which necessarily must be the organic expression of his personality and of his artistic principles, betrays one-sidedness. The calming elements of nature do not appeal to him, nor valleys and hills, nor the smaller features of landscape, but almost exclusively the larger and stirring ones: foaming cataracts, jagged mountains, cloud-crested and sublime—in other words, the glorious scenery of his mother country. He himself says in the *Confessions* (Part. I, livre 4):

Au reste, on sait déjà ce que j'entends par un beau pays. Jamais pays de plaine, quelque beau qu'il fût, ne parut tel à mes yeux. Il me faut des torrents, des rochers, des sapins, des bois noirs, des montagnes, des chemins raboteux à monter et à descendre, des précipices à mes côtés qui me fassent bien peur. J'eus ce plaisir, et je le goûtai dans tout son charme en approchant de Chambéri. Non loin d'une montagne coupée, qu'on appelle le "Pas-de-l'Echelle," au-dessous du grand chemin taillé dans le roc, à l'endroit appelé Chailles, court et bouillonne dans des gouffres affreux une petite rivière, qui parait avoir mis à les creuser de milliers de siècles. On a bordé le chemin de parapets pour prévenir les malheurs: cela faisait que je pouvais contempler au fond et gagner des vertiges tout à mon aise, car ce qu'il y a de plaisant dans mon goût pour les lieux

escarpés, est, qu'il me font tourner la tête; et j'aime beaucoup ce tournolement, pourvu que je sois en sûreté. Bien appuyé sur le parapet, j'avais le nez, et je restais là des heures entières, entrevoyant de temps en temps cette écume et cette eau bleue dont j'entendais le mugissement à travers les cris des corbeaux et des oiseaux de proie qui volaient de roche en roche et de broussaille en broussaille à cent toises au-dessous de moi. . . . Le chemin passe au pied de la plus belle cascade que je vis de mes jours. La montagne est tellement escarpée que l'eau se détache net et tombe en arcade assez loin qu'on puisse passer entre la cascade et la roche, quelque fois sans être mouillé.

No one before him had so well seen or so deeply felt that side of nature which we will call the "romantic;" at least, no one had so ably interpreted it in literature. Among the painters, however, men had appeared more than a century before Rousseau who keenly felt the "romantic" charms of landscape. Among these should be mentioned Tintoretto and especially Salvator Rosa.¹ Salvator Rosa's view of nature is not unlike that of even so modern a person as Lenau.

Rousseau did not merely momentarily intoxicate Europe; he satisfied a long-suppressed yearning. In different countries there arose a literature and an art in all respects antipodal to the artistic notions of the preceding period. Emotions intense and uncontrolled swept over mankind; it seemed as if Europe could not get her fill, and from over-restraint she reeled into excess. For nearly a hundred years absence of self-control and emotion at any cost were two main features of art. Rousseau, Goethe in his youth, Lenz, Schiller in his youth, Tieck in his youth, Novalis, Eichendorff, Heine, Lenau, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, and others were exponents, more or less characteristic and important, of this remarkable time. Among poets only two men, Goethe and Wordsworth, endowed with individualities altogether superior, rose into serenity. They had their roots in the emotional movement of their day, but by dint of wise constraint and self-discipline they developed into a condition of maturity free from tumult. Goethe is, of course, infinitely Wordsworth's superior in depth and breadth, but Wordsworth is Goethe's equal in successfully blending emotion and restraint. A third should be mentioned, who, however, does not concern us in our study here. Schiller naturally drifted toward exaggeration of every kind, but by strength and self-severity was training himself to overcome his natural temptations, when step-mother Fate interfered and cut short his career.

An artist's attitude toward nature, whether his medium be language or line and color, is the subtlest expression of his individuality; hence there is no more fascinating study in the history of culture than the evolution of the nature-sense in literature and art.² All the literary artists mentioned in the preceding paragraph, with the exception

¹ Cf. J. GILBERT, *Landscape in Art before Claude and Salvator* (London, 1885).

² Cf. the works of PROFESSOR ALFRED BIESE: *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen und Römern* (Kiel, 1882-84); *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1892). They are classics in their way and must always be taken as a basis for

investigation in this field. For a suggestive, but very unscholarly and in many respects unsatisfactory, treatise cf. PALGRAVE, *Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson* (London, 1891). For further literature cf. BIESE, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, VII (1894), pp. 311 ff., and XI (1897), pp. 211 ff.; VON KLENZE, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II (1896), pp. 239 ff.

of Goethe and Wordsworth, look at nature from virtually the same point of view. The intensity of their temperaments causes them to enjoy mainly the exciting elements of nature, such as storms, the angry sea, high mountains, etc. They look for large effects, and nature's lovely details, generally speaking, leave them comparatively indifferent. At the same time, however, their love of nature is genuine and profound, as is proved not only by their poetical works, but more especially by their letters. I say especially by their letters, for the possibility is always present that literary tradition and the desire for effect guide the pen of the poet when he composes for the public; the style of his letters, however, is more likely to mirror the real man. Most of these authors, furthermore, prefer the mystic and sensuous in landscape. They love evening and night better than morning and noon; and because of the melancholy, real and affected, which, much to their satisfaction, tinged their lives with gloom, nature's exuberant power and her exultation make a less lasting impression upon them than her melancholy moods.

All the poets named have played so great a part in modern intellectual life that a more complete study of their treatment of nature than Biese could undertake would yield results satisfactory to the historian of culture and would also grant an insight into an attitude toward landscape characteristic, consistent with itself, and delightful in spite of its one-sidedness and its neglect of much in the vast realm of nature's beauties. It is not my purpose here to undertake such a study. I merely intend investigating with some care the view of nature found in the works of one of the group just discussed.

Lenau is not the most powerful representative of that great emotional upheaval in Europe which, for the sake of brevity, I may be permitted to call the romantic movement, nor is he in every respect the most interesting. For one reason, however, he does seem to me the most remarkable: his attitude toward nature, all things considered, is perhaps more worthy of study than that of any other "romantic" poet. It is not easy to be fair in these matters, but, though many, like Byron, Shelley, Lamartine, Novalis, Heine, and others, were exquisitely sensitive to the charms of landscape and distinctly "romantic" in their interpretation of them, no one of them refers to nature with more frequency, with more poetic felicity, than Lenau, and no one at the same time is more one-sided and more often lapses into the exaggerations characteristic of the "romantic" temperament. Lastly, no other poet so naturally and consistently gravitates toward melancholy, and so poetically and adequately describes what almost all the "romantic" poets deeply enjoy—the sad elements in nature.

Byron, to be sure, no less than Lenau, delights in titanic effects (*cf. Manfred, Childe Harold*, etc.); but, though he passionately loves nature, his interests lie very largely elsewhere, and he seems indifferent compared with the German poet, as do also Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, and Leopardi. Lamartine has much in common with Lenau: he is melancholy (*cf. L'automne, Le désespoir*, etc.), he is fond of solitude (*cf. L'isolement, La solitude*), he enjoys Alpine scenery (*cf. Jocelyn*), he is

thoroughly poetical; yet he is less violent, and the idiosyncrasies of the "romantic" temperament appear in him less striking. Love for mystic effects in nature often finds remarkable interpretation in Coleridge, in Tieck (*e. g.*, *William Lovell*, the short stories in *Phantastus*), in Novalis (*cf. Hymnen an die Nacht*), in Eichendorff (*cf.* his lyric poems, his *Taugenichts*, etc.); but all these men have a less passionate preference for the grand and overwhelming. Heine is no less excessive in his "vivifications"³ than Lenau, but man essentially, and not nature, occupies the center of his attention. A more careful perusal of his poetry and prose reveals the rather surprising fact that, with the exception of the ocean, he knows little of nature at first hand, but with fine skill combines and recombines a very few elements. Shelley, it must be admitted, is distinctly Lenau's rival. In him are found side by side an overwhelming love of nature, particularly for all that is grand in her, excessiveness, and a wonderful gift of expression. But with Shelley love of nature, in the almost feverish forms in which he exhibits it in much of his poetry, is not altogether natural. His descriptions and references to nature in his letters and journals betoken an amount of objectivity which contrasts with his poetry. Extreme expressions like this are rare: "The immensity of those aerial summits excited, when they first burst upon the sight, a sentiment of ecstatic wonder, not unallied to madness" (letter from Chamouni, July 22, 1816).

All these poets (and Lenau is no exception) care generally but little for the details of nature, and are more apt to see things *en masse*; they lack the trained eye, which Goethe and Tennyson possessed in a marked degree, to see correctly and exactly. Their main object often consists in creating an atmosphere, a "Stimmung," to use the word of the German painters. Lastly, be it remembered that they all look upon nature with intense subjectivity; she is to them not so much an object of study as something into which they read their emotions and feelings. Victor Hugo has finely voiced this side of the "romantic" nature-sense in the following lines from *Feuilles d'automne*:

Si vous avez en vous vivantes et pressées
Un monde intérieur d'images et de pensées,
De sentiment, d'amour, d'ardente passion,
Pour féconder ce monde, échangez-le sans cesse
Avec l'autre Univers visible qui vous presse,
Mêlez toute votre âme à la Création !

Car, O Poètes saints, l'Art est le son sublime,
Simple, divers, profond, mystérieux, intime,
Fugitif comme l'eau qu'un rien fait dévier ;
Redit comme un écho par toute créature,
Que sous vos doigts puissants exhale la nature,

Cet immense clavier !

All things considered, then, we shall find Lenau the most characteristic representative of the "romantic" view of landscape.

³ I use the word "vivification" to translate the German "Beseehlung," according to the precedent set by Professor Morton, of the Indiana University.

II

Among the lyrical poets of the nineteenth century Lenau occupies a very prominent place. No one can read his works even superficially without being impressed with the remarkable beauty which haunts them. Extraordinary sense of form is united in him with depth of feeling, and few German poets, not excepting even the leading masters, had a finer ear for the melody of verse.

His temperament, however, was so pre-eminently lyrical that even in his epics and dramas the lyrical note predominates almost to the exclusion of every other. Granting this limitation in him, we may say that as an artist in verse he is one of the most admirable of modern times. For, barring Tennyson and perhaps Rückert and Leconte de Lisle and Beaudelaire, hardly any lyrical poet since Lenau's day has proved his equal, much less his superior, in point of purely artistic felicity. This is true especially because few modern artists are free from the taint of morbidity. In Lenau, unfortunately, this element is most conspicuous—reason enough to prevent his work from rising to the level of *haute poésie*. A nervous disturbance which he had inherited darkened his existence from birth, and overwhelmed him in the prime of life.⁴ This disease colored his entire "Weltanschauung" with melancholy, and on account of it nearly all his work reflects indescribable sadness. His letters are full of complaints about his ill-health, and from early youth he seems to have been conscious of his impending fate. As a mere lad (in 1821) he said: "Düsteres Nachgrübeln verstümmelt in mir einen launigen Gesellschafter" (Sch., I, p. 52). In 1831 he gave up his beloved Lotte Gmelin, "denn ich fühle so wenig Glück in mir, dass ich andern keines abgeben kann" (*ibid.*, p. 128), and not long after he confessed to a friend, "mein innerstes Wesen ist Trauer."⁵ He often reveals admirable power of language in speaking of his condition. So in 1828 he writes to his friend Kleyle: "Wie ein angeschossenes Wild durchirr' ich den Wald des Lebens, je stärker mein Lauf, desto heftiger bluten meine Wunden!"⁶ Not long before his last collapse he confesses to Sophie: "Es geht mit beschleunigter Geschwindigkeit holpernd und stürzend thalab" (Sch., II, p. 162).

Mayer is right when he says (*Briefe an einen Freund*, p. 13) that Lenau's grief was not imaginary, but rather a grief, "der eben so von eigenen Geschieden und Erlebnissen, als von dem Gefühle des Menschenlooses überhaupt und der menschlichen Beschränkung, dem Uebersinnlichen gegenüber, ausgegangen zu sein scheint." It is natural that under such circumstances Lenau constantly tended to interpret life

⁴For an account of Lenau's life see A. X. SCHURZ, *Lenau's Leben, grossentheils aus des Dichters eigenen Briefen* (Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1855); furthermore, A. GRÜN, *Lenau's Werke* (Stuttgart, 1855), and the biography by Koch in his excellent edition of Lenau's works, *Kürschner's Nationallitteratur*, Vols. 154, 155. The most important recent work is L. ROUSTAN, *Lenau et son temps* (Paris, 1896). Lenau was born in Csátád in Hungary in 1802, became insane in 1844, and died in 1850. The first volume of his poems appeared in 1832, another volume in 1836, the

"Nachlass" in 1851. *Faust* was published in 1836; *Savonarola*, 1837; *Die Albigenser*, 1842; *Don Juan*, after his death.

⁵*Nikolaus Lenau's Briefe an einen Freund*, herausgegeben mit Erinnerungen an den Verstorbenen von KARL MAYER (Stuttgart, 1853), p. 21.

⁶*Lenau und Sophie Löwenthal, Tagebuch und Briefe des Dichters, nebst Jugendgedichten und Briefen an Frits Kleyle*, herausgegeben von L. A. FRANKL (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 238. Always cited as L. and S.

pessimistically, and the following view expressed to a friend becomes significant: "Ich fühlte, dass die Kluft zwischen dem Leben des Menschen und der ihm kalt gegenüberstehenden Natur eine unausfüllbare sei, und dass die Creatur eines Mittlers bedürfte, damit sie nicht verzweifle und untergehe."¹

It is not surprising that a man of his temperament should early have developed a morbid love for death. The study of his nature-sense will make us familiar precisely with this feature of his personality. Hence it is very remarkable that passages occur in his works in which he expresses satisfaction with the world and with life. So in the poem *Die Thränen* (1832) he utters the hope that man's heart,

War's auch gequält,
Nie verlerne doch zu klopfen
Dieser schönen Gotteswelt.

The ability to see something in nature and in life besides elements of sadness and decay never forsook him, as is proved by passages from his last poems (e. g., *Waldlieder*). It was not highly developed in him, but it should not be lost sight of. We shall later have occasion to speak of it more in detail. Lenau was a mixture of remarkable contrasts, as his friend Emilie Reinbeck rightly says.²

As an almost necessary corollary to his melancholy we find in Lenau intense love for solitude. He calls solitude "diese wahre Mutter Gottes" (in a letter written in 1835; cf. Sch., I, p. 309), and speaks of "goldne Sonnenblicke der Einsamkeit" (L. and S., p. 171). The date of this letter is uncertain; cf. Minor, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, XVIII (1892), p. 291. Translated into the nature-sense this idiosyncrasy means a desire to look upon nature as a haven of peace, as a consoler for the hardships of life, and especially for its irritations, and great love for lonely spots in forests and in mountains.

No less characteristic of Lenau is his morbid delight in grief, his "Wonne der Wehmuth," as Goethe has well called this curious mixture of feelings so common in the last two centuries. When Lenau heard certain quartets by Beethoven he exclaimed: "(Es) geht mir ein Stück Leben davon. . . . O es ist ein köstliches Gefühl, wie einem so das Leben verklingt!" (R., p. 90); and in his letters to Sophie he goes even to such lengths as these: "Es ist mir doch sehr wohl dabei, so heimlich für Dich zu bluten" (L. and S., p. 74), and "Es ist wirklich besser, das Korrespondieren ganz aufzugeben, als sich selbst das Glück der Sehnsucht zu verkümmern" (L. and S., p. 77). Hence, sad aspects of nature, such as the melancholy of autumn, a rain-swept plain, etc., find a masterly interpreter in him, and he was certainly not exaggerating when he wrote (R., p. 82): "Wenn Horaz von seiner Lieblingsgegend sagt: jener Winkel lacht mir vor allen auf Erden, so sag' ich von der meinigen: jener Winkel trauert mir vor allen und ist mir darum der liebste."

¹L. A. FRANKEL, *Zur Biographie Nikolaus Lenaus*, 2te verm. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1885), p. 56.

²*Nikolaus Lenau's Briefe an Emilie von Reinbeck und*

deren Gatten Georg von Reinbeck. Herausgegeben von DR. ANTON SCHLOSSAR (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 232. Always cited as R.

It is a common phenomenon that morbidly sensitive persons betray a strong tendency to waver, and lack decision. Lenau exhibits this weakness in his religious and philosophical opinions. They changed so markedly in the course of his life that we cannot speak of an organic development in them. What concerns us here is the fact that, in contrast with many of his contemporaries, pantheism had but a comparatively slight hold on him. He was naturally religious, but by dint of philosophical studies worked his way into a pantheistic "Weltanschauung," which left its traces especially on his *Faust*. He abandoned such convictions under the influence of Martensen, but drifted back into them only at the end of his career, as especially his *Waldlieder* show (cf. Roustan, pp. 306 ff.). Consequently we shall not find in him that tendency highly developed which is so common in many poets of our own century—the tendency to look upon man and animals as brothers, and upon all phenomena in nature as reflecting the divine individuality.*

Lack of self-training, intellectual and moral, is a conspicuous characteristic of many poets in the first half of the last century. Lenau's whole temperament excluded the possibility of his becoming an exception; hence the absence of control which detracts from some of his work. Schurz tells us (I, p. 101) that Lenau once exclaimed (in 1830): "Nur Leidenschaftlichkeit, sogar bis zur Bewusstlosigkeit; nur nicht Beherrschung, da sie Kaltsinn scheint!" Eight years later he wrote to Sophie (L. and S., p. 122): "Noch habe ich dem Sturm meiner Leidenschaft niemals ein ernstliches Halt! zugerufen. Thäte ich's einmal, so wäre ich gewiss ruhiger und gesichert." This lack of balance explains his dislike of the Greeks (cf. Sch., I, p. 284; see, too, *Savonarola: der Tod Lorenzo's*) and his admiration for Byron; and, what is more, it is reflected, and by no means always to the poet's advantage, in Lenau's interpretations of nature. His "vivifications," we shall see, are often violent, and at times even hysterical, and because of his over-intense emotional life he so conspicuously prefers those features of outdoor nature which awaken astonishment mixed with terror—the grand, the overwhelming, like mighty mountain chains, torrents, and storms.

One of the most delightful features of Lenau's writings consists in the part which nature plays in them; we must agree with him in saying: "Meine Poesie lebt und webt in der Natur" (Sch., I, p. 162). According to Grün (p. xl) and Frankl (p. 3), the public was immediately struck with this fact. His love of nature is perfectly genuine, and he by no means introduces her in his works as a matter of literary tradition or convention; she was a powerful factor in his inner life. The prominence given to nature in his works and letters is proof sufficient of this statement; but I will cite a few passages, taken especially from his letters, to corroborate it. He writes to Sophie (L. and S., p. 131): "Ich habe mich ganz der Natur in die Arme geworfen," and another time he says: "Die Betrachtung des Menschenlebens in seinen mannigfachen Erscheinungen ist mir der grösste Reiz, nach dem Reize, den die Natur für mich hat" (Sch., I, p. 126). The worst of a certain illness for him was "dass sie mich um den

* Cf. BIERER, *Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im M. A. u. d. Neuzeit*, pp. 358 ff.

Frühling verkürzt" (Sch., II, p. 55). Not to be with nature was a deprivation to him: "Die Blüthen kommen, und ich sehne mich nach einem stillen Umgang mit der Natur" (Sch., II, p. 148). Hence he noticed the natural beauties of the places he visited and describes them in his letters (cf. especially L. and S., pp. 235, 236; R., p. 82, etc.). Nature to him is uplifting: "Die Natur hat auch ihr Decorum, ein heiliges Decorum. Der Mensch wagt es nicht leicht, angesichts des Erhabenen, kleinliche Gedanken auszukramen, wenn er überhaupt nicht bereits ausser der Natur steht," as he wrote to a friend (Sch., I, p. 376; cf. also R., p. 43). One reason for his desire to visit this country was to study nature here: "Den Niagara will ich rauschen hören" (Sch., I, p. 162); "in Amerika will ich meine Phantasie in die Schule der Urwälder schicken" (Sch., I, p. 158); "in Amerika ist die Natur schöner, gewaltiger als in Europa" (Sch., I, p. 162). The most convincing proof he can give of his great love for Sophie is by saying: "Nur Du bist mir unersetzlich durch die schöne Natur" (L. and S., p. 4), and "selbst die schöne Natur kann mich nur halb ergreifen, da Du mir fehlst" (L. and S., p. 144; cf. also: "Ich hatte keinen Blick mehr für den ganzen schönen Frühling," *ibid.*, pp. 109 and 46). Love of nature in others helped to make them dear to him; this was the case with Klemm (Sch., I, p. 63), with Emilie v. Reinbeck (Sch., I, p. 180), and Mayer (Sch., I, p. 141; Mayer, p. 10). Because of Lenau's great love of nature, the idea is more than once recorded in his works that man should not hasten through life without appreciating her beauties (cf., e. g., *Vanitas, Warnung und Wunsch*, first stanza). This is the thought which Wordsworth has expressed in masterly fashion in the sonnet, *The World is Too Much with Us*.¹⁰

A study of his letters and works will show that his devotion to nature was nearly the same throughout his literary career, except that toward the end he seems to have been more sensitive to even the subtlest effects.

In his treatment of landscape Lenau followed certain distinct principles, and was too much of an artist to proceed without a plan. Perhaps he did not always rigidly adhere to his canons, yet acquaintance with them will grant us better understanding of his attitude toward nature.

In the *Allgemeine Hallesche Litteraturzeitung*, II (1834), p. 294, appeared a review by Lenau of *Lyra und Harfe*, Liederproben von Georg Keil. In it we read (Koch, I, p. 361):

Die Naturpoesie unserer Dichter vorigen Jahrhunderts besteht wohl grösstentheils darin dass sie entweder eine Reihe von Naturerscheinungen aufzählen, welche weder durch Empfindung, noch durch Situation in einen lebendigen Verband gebracht sind; oder sie ziehen Parallele zwischen irgend einer Erscheinung des Menschenlebens und einer korrespondierenden Erscheinung aus der Natur. Allein weder jene sterile Enumeration, noch dieser bloss verständige Parallelismus dürfte, streng genommen, künstlerische Darstellung zu nennen sein. Die wahre Naturpoesie muss unseres Bedünkens die Natur und das Menschenleben in einen innigen

¹⁰ Hence the following utterance must strike us as curious: "Ein Titian ist mir mehr als das schönste Alpenthal" (Sch., I, p. 185).

Konflikt bringen, und aus diesem Konflikte ein drittes Organischlebendiges resultieren lassen, welches ein Symbol darstelle jener höhern geistigen Einheit, worunter Natur und Menschenleben begriffen sind. Diese Gestaltung der Naturpoesie scheint unserer Zeit vorbehalten und auf eine merkwürdige Weise mit der charakteristischen Ironie der neuesten Poesie überhaupt zusammenzuhängen. Scheint es doch, als ob gerade die ironische Auffassung des Menschenlebens, und ihre schmerzliche Nichtbefriedigung das Herz des Dichters näher zur Natur dränge, um in einem innigeren Verkehre mit derselben die ideale Befriedigung zu suchen, welche in der einseitigen Dissonanz der Ironie nimmer zu finden ist.

It may be doubted whether he is correct in claiming that only our time has the view of nature he admires,¹¹ but his insistence on this special method is important. In the same year in which this review appeared he wrote concerning Karl Mayer's poetry (Sch., I, p. 266):

Ferner tadle ich dieses Hinausgehen in den Wald, dieses Herumspioniren, ob die Natur nicht irgendwo einen poetischen Anhaltspunkt biete, gleichsam eine Blösse gebe, wo ihr beizukommen ist. Bei dieser Manier (so muss ich allerdings dieses Verfahren nennen) lebt der Dichter gar zu sehr in der Aussenwelt; er lauert beständig auf Naturerscheinungen, an welchen er am Ende bloß herumdeutelt. Ich meine, der Dichter soll seine Gebilde im Innern und aus seinem Innern hervorschaffen, und die äussere Natur soll ihm nur aus der Erinnerung, die im Augenblicke der dichterischen Thätigkeit freilich zur fruchtbaren Anschauung werden muss, gewisse Mittel suppeditiren. Kürzer: die angewandte und zum Symbol gewordene Naturerscheinung soll nie Zweck, sondern nur Mittel sein zur Darstellung einer poetischen Idee.

Compare, too, Mayer, p. 140, and Sch., I, p. 176. A year earlier he had defined the duties of the landscape painter as follows:

Diejenigen, die da behaupten, der Landschaftsmaler müsse sich auf blosses Reproduciren beschränken und aller Composition begeben, wissen nicht, dass die bildende Kraft künstlerischer Phantasie und die bildende Kraft der schaffenden Natur eine und dieselbe ist, und dass der bildende Künstler sozusagen das geistige Complement der sichtbaren Schöpfungen in seiner Seele trägt (R., p. 46).

Lastly, the following description of Salzburg is helpful for a knowledge of what he regarded as beautiful in a landscape (Sch., II, p. 198):

Salzburg ist nicht eigentlich schön. Es sind membra disjecta einer schönen Gegend. Es ist keine Harmonie, kein Plan der Schönheit darin. Es ist eigentlich keine Gegend, denn sie hat keinen Charakter: da ein Berg, dort ein Stück Ebene. Die Berge sind wie dem Herrgott aus der Tasche gefallen. Ich liebe die Vielheit, das Mannigfache in einer Gegend nicht. Ich habe lieber Eines recht.¹²

By way of conclusion, I will add that Lenau once thought of inventing a new kind of poetry. He wrote to Emilie von Reinbeck June 8, 1832 (R., p. 23):

Ich dachte über die geheimnissvollen Gesetze der Kunst, und wie viel neue Gattungen der Poesie noch zu finden wären. Was hält meine liebe Freundin von folgender Idee:

Einzelne Züge der Natur, wie sie uns vorliegen, ohne Versifikation, ohne Ausführung ins Genaue, bloß nebeneinander hingeworfen, gleichsam in poetischer Situationszeichnung. Z. B.: Abend;—grüne Wiese,—zerstreute Weidenbäume,—Unken ruf im Sumpfe,—grauer Him-

¹¹ Cf. also the following words by Lenau quoted by Frankl, p. 69: "Seit Spees *Trutznachtigall* hat die Natur-symbolik keiner wieder aufgegriffen bis ich."

¹² I greatly regret that in spite of much effort I have been unable to obtain the book from which Schurz quotes this passage: EMMA NIENDORF, *Lenau in Schwaben* (Leipzig, 1853).

mel,—es regt sich kein Lüftchen,—immer tieferes Dunkel,—ein verllorener Freund.—Tiefe Schätze, teure Freundin, liegen in der Situation. Liesse sich nicht eine Reihe solcher Skizzen mit Wirkung durchführen?

We are now prepared to proceed to a study of Lenau's treatment of nature. In the following chapters no attempt has been made to transcribe every passage in which the feature of nature under discussion is introduced, but it is hoped that everything of real importance has been quoted. The idea throughout has been to give precedence to quotations from the letters as the most direct expressions of his views; then follow quotations from his lyrical poetry (including the short epics), after that quotations from *Faust*, *Savonarola*, *Die Albigenser*, and lastly from *Don Juan*. Here and there attention has been called to the evolution of certain interpretations. In general, however, the order of quotations is not strictly chronological.

III

We will now ask ourselves what objects in the inexhaustible treasure-house of nature attracted Lenau's attention. He himself declares (Sch., I, p. 196) that the features of landscape which had the greatest informing power upon his personality were the Atlantic ocean and the Austrian Alps, and that of the two the latter were the more important. Hence we may suppose that mountains play a large part in his writings. Although born in Hungary, Lenau in early manhood became familiar with high mountains, and had innumerable opportunities for training his eye for artistic and subtle enjoyment of jagged outline and ponderous mass and all the wild beauties which haunt foaming abyss and beetling crag. It was in 1826 that he first saw the Austrian Alps. He immediately fell in love with them, and from that time forth visited them almost yearly.¹⁸ Schurz (I, pp. 88 ff.) tells us in detail of a trip which he and Lenau took into the Austrian mountains the very next year (1827). We learn from this passage what profound impression such excursions made upon our poet. The description, done with no little poetic feeling, gives us a fine glimpse of the majesty and beauty of the spots which in the course of years so largely helped to mold Lenau's view of nature. In a letter to his friend Kleyle (November 6, 1827; L. and S., pp. 235, 236) he comments on this trip, and especially speaks of the Hölthtal near Reichenau as "ein wahrer Wallfahrtsort für Dichter, indem hier die Natur selbst zu dichten scheint." Schurz next tells us of two mountain excursions in 1830 (Sch., I, pp. 98 f. and 100 ff.), and we have a letter from Lenau himself, dated July 9, 1831, in which he enthusiastically comments on a trip to Gmunden (Sch., I, p. 115). Two years later we find him again in what he calls "dem paradiesischen Gmunden" (Sch., I, pp. 231 and 234). In the autumn of 1834 he visited Styria and describes a fine spot there in a letter (cf. R., p. 57). The very next year he ascended the Hochschwab in Styria (Sch., I, p. 311); he speaks of this journey in his poetic way in a letter to Emilie

¹⁸ Sch., I, p. 79. In his boyhood Lenau became acquainted with the simpler and sereener charm of plains (see Schurz's description of the view from the house near

Ofen into which his mother moved in 1817—Sch., I, p. 22). Petöfy (1823-49), the greatest lyrical poet of Hungary, had an eye almost exclusively for the beauty of level country.

dated August 15, 1835 (R., pp. 82, 83). The following summer he could not resist the temptation of spending at least a week (from July 23 to 28) in his beloved mountains (Sch., I, p. 333). Many more times he went to the Austrian Alps for health and inspiration, but we need not weary the reader with a recital of every word referring to these journeys. We shall quote only a few passages from his letters. On May 16, 1838, he describes the Traunsee in these words (Sch., I, p. 376): "Der See ward immer stiller; der Traunstein glühte auf einige Minuten auf, wie eine grosse steinerne Rose; das glatte Wasser spiegelte das schöne Bild in voller Klarheit; die beiden Ufer schienen sich im Wasser entgegenkommen zu wollen; dann erhob sich ein Windhauch, und der See hatte wieder Alles vergessen." In June, 1841, he tells his friend Emilie with gratitude of the health-giving influences of the mountains, of the undying charm of sunset tints on the Alps, and of the fragrance of the new-mown mountain grass (R., p. 152). Again in 1841 he speaks of a view "glorious beyond description" which he enjoyed from the Zwieselalpe (Sch., II, p. 83).

Hence we see that his eye was schooled throughout a very important part of his life for the grand effects of high mountains rather than for the simpler beauty of hills. Yet the latter he must have known; his sojourns in Heidelberg and Stuttgart must have given him ample occasion for more than a passing acquaintance with their charm.¹⁴ But, although he was no doubt capable of appreciating the attractions of comparatively low mountains like the Black Forest (*cf.* Sch., II, p. 179), he had a decided predilection for grander effects. He once wrote from Stuttgart (a letter dated 1840; *cf.* Sch., II, p. 30): "Nach unserem Oberösterreich ziehen mich gewisse steinerne Leute, nämlich die Hochberge, so gewaltig, dass ich bald aufbrechen werde." Just before his complete collapse he expressed his longing to go to Ischl, and declared that high mountains had a charm which could not be rivaled by that of any other landscape (Sch., II, p. 228). Hence an incident told by Mayer is interesting in this connection. He discusses a spot near Waiblingen, and adds (Mayer, pp. 176, 177):

Wenn ich hoffte, dass die ächt Württemberg'sche, reizend fruchtbare Wald-, Obst-, Reben- und Wiesengegend einen besondern Eindruck auf Niembsch machen würde, so hätte ich mir bei aller seiner Zufriedenheit und Heiterkeit doch voraussagen können, dass er dieser meiner Erwartung nur wenig entsprechen werde. Sein Sinn ging doch immer mehr auf Gegenden vom Alpencharakter oder auch auf einen so weit gedehnten Himmel, wie er sich in feierlicher Grösse über der Wiener Landschaft ausbreitet, und der allerdings etwas unruhige Charakter, der sich durch einen bis in's Kleine getriebenen, etwas buntscheckigen Anbau unsern Württembergisch-väterländischen Gegenden aufgedrückt findet, konnte seinem vielleicht etwas verwöhnten und einseitigen, im Wesentlichen aber doch richtigen Schönheitssinn nie ganz Genüge thun.

I have spoken at length of this subject, because I believe that an adequate appreciation of Lenau's nature-sense is impossible without a knowledge of the profound effect produced by mountains upon his emotional life and upon his imagination. A person exceptionally sensitive to the artistic side of nature, as Lenau eminently was, constantly and deeply influenced by the stirring and hyperbolical effects of grand

¹⁴ In 1832 he writes from Heidelberg how much he enjoys the mountains! The letter is written in January! *Cf.* Sch., I, p. 148.

mountain scenery, will, I think, develop an essentially different kind of art, and even of individuality, from one consistently impressed by the smaller, but more soothing and, in a sense, more refining effects of a quieter landscape. Wordsworth and Goethe, the only instances of serenity in a truly classical sense in the poetry of the first half of the nineteenth century, are products of the latter; Lenau is a product of the former.¹⁵

As in his letters, so in his poetry we find many proofs of his deep love for the mountains. The best instances are these:

Alpen! Alpen! unvergesslich seid
 Meinem Herzen ihr in allen Tagen;
 Bergend vor der Welt ein herbes Leid,
 Hab' ich es zu euch hinaufgetragen.

Alpen, o wie stärkte mich die Rast,
 Lagernd auf dem weichen Grün der Wiesen,
 Kräuterdüfte fächelten den Gast,
 Eisgeharnischt ragten eure Riesen.

Frischen Muth zu jedem Kampf und Leid
 Hab' ich thalwärts von der Höh' getragen;
 Alpen! Alpen! unvergesslich seid
 Meinem Herzen ihr in allen Tagen!

—*An die Alpen.*

Ha! ich fand des Mannes Büste,
 Den ich höchst als Meister ehre
 Nebst dem schroffen Urgebirge
 Und dem grenzenlosen Meere.

Ein Gewitter in den Alpen,
 Stürme auf dem Oceane,
 Und das grosse Herz Beethovens
 Laut im heiligen Orkane,

Sind die Wecker mir des Muthes,
 Der das Schicksal wagt zu fodern.

—*Beethovens Büste.*

Compare, too, Sch., I, p. 120. Like Lenau, Faust takes refuge in the mountains to escape fog and doubts (*Faust: der Morgengang*); in *Das Ross und der Reiter* a horseman "düster, sehnsuchtkrank," is filled with comfort at the sight of a sunset on the Alps; in *Auf meinen ausgebligten Geier* we read:

Ich wollt', ich wäre jetzt in fernen Felsenklüften,
 Und du hoch über mir, still kreisend in den Lüften.

Compare also *Die Ferne*. Sometimes the beauties of the Alps, however, cannot console, but make the guilty feel their crime more deeply. Faust (*Faust: Abendgang*), forsaken by nature, more than ever is burdened by the consciousness of his sins in

¹⁵ I am aware that Lenau's temperament had more to do with his view of life than his acquaintance with mountain scenery, but his constant reveling in the overwhelm-

ing beauty of the Alps could only deepen his tendency to emotional intensity.

the presence of the sublime beauty of the mountains: "Der Friede, der auf allen Bergen ruht Das Alles muss in's kranke Herz ihm schneiden."

All through Lenau's letters and works we find metaphors and similes taken from mountain scenery: "Solche Seelen sind wie die Luft auf sehr hohen Bergen" (L. and S., p. 238); "Du lernstest fühlen, dass Du nicht mehr auf der Höhe unserer Liebe stehst, auf jener seligen Alpenhöhe" (L. and S., p. 24); "Du wirst es vielleicht aushalten eine Weile, aber plötzlich wirst Du das Alpenhorn hören und Du wirst ein Heimweh empfinden nach der Gebirgsluft, die ich Dir zu athmen gegeben" (L. and S., p. 35); "Sie [i. e., his soul] besteht aus lauter Höhen und Tiefen, die abwechselnd beleuchtet und durch Schatten verdunkelt werden" (R., p. 230); "Indem ich schwindelnd, strauchelnd fort mich quäle, Zwischen dem dunkeln Abgrund meiner Seele Und dieser Welt verschloss'ner Felsenwand" (*Faust: der Besuch*). In *An Seneca* life is powerfully symbolized by a violent storm in a mountainous country; love and marriage are symbolized by mountain and cloud in *Liebe und Vermählung*. Sometimes mountain scenery awakens sad or joyful thoughts; so in *Der schwarze See*. In *An die Alpen* we read: "Rauschend hat mich's an der Kluft gemahnt: Schmerz und Liebe hat die Welt geboren." In *Meine Braut* mountains awaken longing for the beloved.

We find throughout his poetical works, as in his letters, descriptions of Alpine scenery. So, especially, in *Der ewige Jude*:

Ich irr' allein in einem öden Thale,
Von Klippenkalk umstarrt, von dunkeln Föhren;
Es war kein Laut im Hochgebirg zu hören,
Stumm rang die Nacht mit letztem Sonnenstrahle.

Für ernste Wanderer liess die Urwelt liegen
In diesem Thal versteinert ihre Träume;
Dort sah ich einen Geier durch die Bäume
Wie einen stillen Todsgedanken fliegen.

Lenau was too great an artist to indulge in tiresome enumerations. Hence the landscape generally gleams through the poem, is happily indicated rather than described, and forms an organic part of the whole. Consequently, mountains are often used as a background for human action. The beginning of *Faust* should be quoted here again; in the well-known *Asyl*, one of his most characteristic poems, "hohe Klippen" determine the character of the whole situation; in *Die Felsenplatte* "ein steiler Klippenhang, Wo der Wildbach niederschäumt" is the background for a man sunk in revery. The incarnate spirit of 1809 (in *Vision*) rides "durch's Land Tyrol, allein; Der Waldstrom brausst und stürzt mit Macht." In *Der Steyrertanz* the mountaineer Robert is characterized partly by suggestions of the mountains in which he lives. Similarly in *Die Sennin* mountains are skilfully suggested as a background to help describe an Alpine individuality. Compare furthermore *Cisteron*

and *Der nächtliche Gang* in *Klara Hebert*, and the beginning of *Mischka an der Marosch*.

Striking "vivifications" occur in connection with mountains: "Eine enge Schlucht, oder vielmehr ein Riss, klappt durch die Felsen hinunter, wie eine tiefe, finstere, ewige Wunde" (Sch., I, p. 273). Compare the following:

Eine Kluft ist's, einsam, tief und wild,
Durch den Abgrund ist ein Quell gestossen.

Wie die Brust Maria's schwertdurchbohrt
Ist zu schau'n in christlicher Kapelle,
So Natur, der heil'gen Mutter dort
Schien das Herz durchschnitten von dem Quelle.

Grauer Felsen ewig starrer Blick
Hangt hinab zur tiefgerissnen Wunde.
—*An die Alpen*.

Wie, trauernd nach verlorenen Paradiesen,
Des Freundes Haupt an's Herz des Freundes fällt,
Umarmen sich die ernsten Felsenriesen.
—*Die Marionetten*, I.

Lenau rarely refers to volcanoes, and then without originality. He writes to Sophie that anything which resists their love should burn and be destroyed "wie ein Strohalm in den brennenden Vulkan geworfen." Other passages occur in *Don Juan*.

Lenau greatly admires glassy Alpine lakes,¹⁶ which on their dark surfaces reflect sun-kissed peaks, the arctic serenity of snow and glacier, or again a troubled sky and the grand desolation of pine-wreathed rocky shores:

Den glatten See kein Windeshauch verknittert,
Das Hochgebirg, die Tannen, Klippen, Buchten,
Die Gletscher, die von Wolken nur besuchten,
Sie spiegeln sich im Wasser unzersplittert.
—*Stimme der Glocken*.

Die Felsen schroff und wild,
Der See, die Waldumnachtung,

¹⁶ Lakes and ponds in the plains rarely occur in Lenau's works. They are mentioned, however, in *Schilftieder* and in *Faust: der See*. In both cases the "Stimmung" is rendered with admirable skill:

An Klostermauern, alten, einsam düstern,
Ist weit ein stiller See hinausgegossen;
Am Saume Bins' und Weide heimlich flüstern,
Und sanftgewiegte Wasserblumen sprossen.
Hell scheint der Mond, es spielen, leisen Bebens,
Die Strahlen lieblich auf dem tiefen See,
Wie über den Geheimnissen des Lebens
Und seiner Tiefe ungeahntem Weh,
Die Kinderseelen lieblich zitternd spielen. . . .
—*Faust*.

Drüben geht die Sonne scheiden,
Und der müde Tag entschlief.
Niederhangen hier die Weiden
In den Teich, so still, so tief.

Auf dem Teich, dem regungslosen,
Weilt des Mondes holder Glanz,
Flechtend seine bleichen Rosen
In des Schilfes grünen Kranz.

—*Schilftieder*.

Compare also *Mischka an der Marosch*, V. It should be stated that in Lenau's early poetry mountains are rarely spoken of, and then with vagueness; cf. *Unmögliches* (written in 1822) and *Abendbild*, evidently an early poem showing the influence of Klopstock.

Sind dir ein stilles Bild
Tiefsinniger Betrachtung.

—*See und Wasserfall.*

Die Tannenberge rings den tiefen See umklammern,
Und schütten in den See die Schatten schwarz zusammen. . . .

Sehr ernst ist hier die Welt und stumm in sich versunken,
Als wär' ihr letzter Laut im finstern See ertrunken.

—*Der schwarze See.*

Mountain brooks and torrents have an irresistible fascination for our poet. He interprets their vehemence and fretting and their wild noises in his highly subjective and poetic fashion; so in *Savonarola: Tubal*:

Durch Felsen, bleich, gehöhlt, verwittert,
Wo Geier nur und Stürme nahn,
Braust dort ein Waldstrom, wild, erbittert,
Und immer frisch die raue Bahn;
Und hier durchbraust den grimmen Alten,
Verwittert, hohl und schreckend blass,
Aus seines Herzens finstern Spalten
Ein immer frischer Strom—der Hass.

Mountain torrents sometimes form a part of the background; this is true in several passages already quoted, and, e. g., in *Vision, Felsenplatte, Erinnerung*, etc. A mountain torrent reminds the poet that "Schmerz und Liebe hat die Welt geboren" (*An die Alpen*).¹⁷ In *Mischka an der Marosch*, III the roaring of a river adds to the atmosphere of a bridal night.¹⁸ Generally the roaring of torrents is a sound of poignant grief to our poet: "Tausendstimmig braust ein dunkler Schmerz In des Stroms zerbrochenen Akkorden" (*An die Alpen*); "Heimweh jagt des Abgrunds wilden Schaum" (*ibid.*);

wie verzweifelt
Stürzt der Wildbach in die Tiefe,
Und er brauset in den Schluchten,
Ob er bang nach Hülfe rief.

—*Clara Hebert: Cisteron.*

See also *Wanderung im Gebirge, Einsamkeit*, and especially *Am Sarge eines Schwer-müthigen*. Rarely the voice of the torrent is one of joy; cf. *Der Gefangene*: "Der Wildbach stürzt vom Klippenhange nieder, Ein Freudenthränenstrom, dem Lenz entgegen."

Cataracts occasionally are mentioned; for example: "Vergänglichheit, dein lauter Katarakt" (*Die Zweifler*); "der Reime Wasserfälle" (*Don Juan: Kirchhof, Mondnacht*). The following passage is significant:

¹⁷ Cf. *Nächtliche Wanderung*, where a brook invites to suicide. In *Die Albigenser: ein Greis* we read:

Unter mir in wilder Flucht
Braust der Strom und stürzt von hinnen;

Starrend in die rege Schlucht,
Seh' ich's Leben mitverrinnen.

¹⁸ In *Asyl* the absence of the brook adds to the sadness of the "Stimmung."

Rausche, Zeit, vorbei, vorbei!
 Deine Opfer hab' sie alle!
 Auch dein eigner Sterbeschrei
 Tönt mir zu im Wasserfalle.

—*Die Albigenser: ein Greis.*

The greatest of all waterfalls, Niagara, though not associated with mountains, produced a profound impression upon Lenau. It seems that in later life he remembered hardly anything else about America with any degree of pleasure.¹⁹ In *Verschiedene Deutung und Niagara*²⁰ he describes the river and the falls, and especially in the last-mentioned poem interprets them in characteristic fashion:

Die Stromschnellen stürzen, schiessen,
 Donnern fort im wilden Drang,
 Wie von Sehnsucht hingerissen
 Nach dem grossen Untergang.

In a large number of cases brooks and streams are referred to in Lenau's works without being associated with mountains. We read "Thränenstrom," "Thränenbäche," "Murmelbach der Rede," "von süßen Worten eine Fluth," "Lockenfluth," "Strom der Schönheit," etc. In other passages brooks are introduced by way of comparison, or as a background; we need not mention them, however, as they betray no originality.²¹

It is a strange fact that Lenau rarely speaks of mountain forests, yet they are a striking part of Alpine scenery. Although he often and skilfully introduces forests and groves, he rarely distinctly associates them with mountains, and, when he does, fails to characterize them as an organic part of their sublime surroundings. *Der Eichwald*, a part of *Wanderung im Gebirge*, is an instance: "Ich trat in einen heilig düstern Eichwald. . . . Es rauscht' der Wald geheimnissvoll." This might be said of any forest.

Of all forests, the forest primeval, grand and wild, could not help affecting Lenau. Early in his life he saw such a forest in the Austrian Alps, and never forgot it (Sch., I, pp. 89, 90). Later he was anxious to become acquainted with the American forests; "dort will ich meine Phantasie in die Schule der Urwälder schicken." He looked forward to reading his friends' letters to the "sinnenden Blumenbäume" of America. "Deine lieben Worte werden wie schöne Vögel herumflattern im wunder-

¹⁹ To see Niagara was one of the things he looked forward to most in coming to this country (cf. Sch., I, p. 162, also p. 199; cf. furthermore *Der Maskenball*, written immediately before his departure from Europe).

²⁰ See, too, *Die drei Indianer*.

²¹ In a letter to Emilie (R., p. 71) time is compared to a stream: "Ja, die Zeit, die Zeit! Sie ist freilich ein Strom, aber keiner, der in seinen Ufern an uns vorüberzieht, sondern ein uferloser, überschwemmender, der heranschwillt, uns immer näher kommt, immer mehr und mehr von dem Grund und Boden unserer Freuden, Wünsche und Hoffnungen in seinen Fluthen begräbt."

The ripple of brooks lacks the dramatic effect charac-

teristic of the mad noises of Alpine torrents, but still has a charm of its own which did not escape Lenau. Again he interprets these voices in his subjective and often morbid, yet always poetical way. In *Das Posthorn* the brook whispers a welcome to the moon. In *Der Gefangene* we read: "Melodisch zieht der Bach durch Waldesräume." In *Liebe und Vermählung*, the brook, "der ruhelose," weeps at the feet of the rose. In an oak forest, "ein Bächlein unter Blumen flüstert, Wie das Gebet von einem Kind" (*Wanderung im Gebirge: der Eichwald*); on a chill autumn evening "Das Bächlein schleicht hinab, von abgestorbenen Hainen Trägt es die Blätter fort mit halbersticktem Weinen;" in *Frühling* we read: "Die hochgeschwellten Bäche fallen Durch Blumen hin mit trunknem Lallen."

vollen Gezweige des Urwalds;" and "der ganze Urwald wird von Sehnsucht ergriffen nach Euch" (cf. Sch., I, pp. 158 ff.; see also *Der Maskenball*). When he became acquainted with the virgin forests of this country, they delighted and inspired him. In later years he spoke with admiration especially of a decaying forest which he saw probably in Ohio (Sch., I, p. 212). Yet we hear little of primeval forests in his poetry. In *Die Bauern am Tissastrande* he compares the tones of musical instruments (clarionets, violins, etc.) to "Urwaldpflanzen wild verschlungen." In the poem *Der Urwald* the characterization is not satisfactory. Lenau's unfortunate insistence on seeing decay in nature prevents his describing the sense of exuberance and power which the sight of a primeval forest excites:

Umsonst das Leben hier zu grünen sucht,
Erdrückt von des Todes Ueberwucht,
Denn endlich hat der Tod, der starke Zwinger,
Die Faust geballt, das Leben eingeschlossen,
Es sucht umsonst, hier, dort, hervorzuspriessen
Durch Moderstämme, dürre Todesfinger.
—*Der Urwald.*

Urwald, in deinem Brausen
Und ernsten Dämmerchein
Mit der Geliebten hausen
Möcht' ich allein — allein!
—*Wunsch.*

As everything associated with mountains deeply appealed to Lenau, it is natural that plants and animals on Alpine heights should play an important part in his poetry. We shall speak of these later in connection with his treatment of vegetable and animal life.

Next to high mountains and all they imply, it was the ocean, as we saw, which, according to his own statement, had most to do with shaping Lenau's individuality. The grandeur and the vastness of the sea fascinate him — in other words, it is again a titanic element which delights his fancy. His love for it proves, even more conclusively than did his love for high mountains, that his temperament was attuned particularly to grand effects; for, although he had never seen the ocean until he was thirty years old, he was immediately and most deeply impressed by it. His trip to America in 1832 gave him the first opportunity for acquaintance with the sea in its various moods. He writes to Schurz on his arrival in America (October 16, 1832; Sch., I, p. 196):

Ich bin jetzt um ein Gutes reicher, dass ich auch das Meer kennen gelernt habe. Die nachhaltigste und beste Wirkung dieser Seereise ist ein gewisser feierlicher Ernst, der sich durch den langen Anblick des Erhabenen in mir befestigt hat. Das Meer ist mir zu Herzen gegangen. Das sind die zwei Hauptmomente der Natur, die mich gebildet haben: dies atlantische Meer und die österreichischen Alpen; doch möcht' ich mich vorzugsweise einen Zögling der letzteren nennen. Ich kann Dir nicht beschreiben, wie mir zu Muthe war, wenn auf der See jedes Lüftchen

schwieg, jede Welle ruhte, der müde Himmel sich aufs Meer legte, und jedes Leben, jede Bewegung sich von unserm Schiffe zurückgezogen hatte, in dieser tiefen, grenzenlosen Einsamkeit; mit welcher Sehnsucht ich da zurückdachte an meine lieben Berge, meine lieben Menschen in der Ferne. Ich möchte fast behaupten, das stille Meer ist grösser als das bewegte, wie es denn schon dem Auge ausgedehnter erscheint. Es hat sich mir aber das Meer auch in seiner Leidenschaft gezeigt. Starke Winde und ungeheure Wellen nahmen das Schiff oft in ihre Mitte und schleuderten sich verächtlich in die Hände. Das war ein Schwanken, dass ich nicht aufrecht stehen konnte; doch eben darin mag das Heilsame liegen, das Seereisen für den Charakter des Menschen haben. Wenn ich in meiner Kajüte stand und plötzlich an die Wand geworfen wurde wie eine willenlose Kleinigkeit, so empörte das meinen Stolz aufs bitterste, und je weniger mein äusserer Mensch aufrecht stehen konnte, desto mehr that es der innere. Der Kampf mit den rohen Kräften der Natur ist sehr gut.

It is noteworthy that the sublimity of the ocean and its sadness in a calm appealed to him most, and that he enjoyed the opposition against the brutal forces of nature awakened by his feeling of helplessness during a storm.²² So deeply did he love the ocean that he longed for it as late as 1844, during his last illness; Emilie Reinbeck tells us that in the spring of 1844 "Ausserte er besonders grosses Verlangen, das Meer wieder zu sehen" (R., p. 201).

This love for the ocean is recorded in a considerable number of passages in his works. It filled his mind even before he left Europe; in *Der Maskenball*, written in 1832 before he started on his journey, we read:

Frisch hinaus in's Meerestosen,
Durch die fluthbeschäumten Riffel!
Ha! schon seh' ich Möven ziehn,
Wetterwolken seh' ich jagen,
Und die Stürme hör' ich schlagen.

In *Wandel der Sehnsucht*, written after his return from America (Sch., I, p. 214), his meeting with the beloved and "das gränzenlose, hoffnungslose Lieben" make him exclaim: "O wie sehn' ich mich so bang hinaus Wieder in das dumpfe Fluthgebräus!" In *Der ewige Jude* he lets Ahasverus exclaim: "Ich wollt' ich wäre Versunken, eh' mein Licht versank, im Meere!" Faust longs for the ocean and hopes for dreary consolation from it (*Faust: die Reise*):

Ich will nun fort, hinaus in's Meer,
Das ist so einsam, wild und leer,
Das blüht nicht auf, das welkt nicht ab,
Ein ungeschmücktes, ewiges Grab.
Dort zwischen Wogen, zwischen Winden,
Soll mir der letzte Kummer schwinden.

²² Cf. with this letter the following passage from *Faust: die Reise*:

Der Sturm ist weniger bedenklich mir.
Wenn's heult und brüllt, wenn Alles wankt und kracht,
Ein kriegerisch Wesen bald in dir erwacht,
Das dem Tumult und allen Todesschlägen
Mannstrotzig und frohlockend zieht entgegen.
Bedenklich aber ist das stille Meer,

Dagegen halt dein Trotz und Stolz sich schwer.
Wenn Welle ruht und jedes Luftgeflüster,
Wenn Meer und Himmel schweigend sich umschlingen
Und fromm, fast wie zwei betende Geschwister,
Das könnte, sorg' ich, meinen Faust berwingen,
Da fürcht' ich Schwärmerel an meinem Faust,
Hat auch der Sturm vergebens ihn gezaust. . . .

Furthermore, cf. in *Zwei Polen* the second speech of Hippolyt.

Many are the characterizations and descriptions of the ocean scattered through Lenau's works. Before he became personally acquainted with it he seems to have regarded it with a certain dread. "Ich muss mir sagen: du gehst in die See, du vertraust dich den trügerischen Wellen, du überantwortest dein Herz, sammt aller Liebe . . . den unsichern Winden" (Mayer, p. 68; Sch., I, p. 171). He seems never to have overcome a certain feeling of awe and terror for it, for in *Faust: der Maler* he speaks of the "wüsten Wogenfelder;" and in *Faust: der Abschied* says: "eh' das ersehnte Meer Mich grenzenlos umtrauert;" compare the passage quoted above, beginning: "Ich will nun fort, hinaus in's Meer." Mephistopheles says to Faust: "Du kennst das Meer noch nicht; das ernste Ding Schon manchem Wanderer sehr zu Herzen ging" (*Faust: die Reise*); "Im Meer, das, fremd und stolz, in kalter Grösse, Nicht rückhalt selbst des Himmels Donnerstösse" (*Faust: der Traum*); "Des Meers bewegte Grabeshügel" (*ibid.*). A sailor says in *Faust: Görg*:

Das Waldesgrün, der Vogelsang,
Und all der süsse Frühlingsdrang
Blieb mir verloren und versäumt,
Wo nur die kalte Woge schäumt
Und Sterbelieder singt der Wind.

Again we hear of the "weite, fremde Meereswüste" (*Wandel der Sehnsucht*), and of the "öden, unfruchtbaren Wogen" (*Zwei Polen: Hippolyt*). The sad song which runs through all nature is heard when "sich die Meereswellen Aufthürmen und zerschellen" (*Am Sarge eines Schwermüthigen*). In *Der Schiffsjunge* the ocean is called "der alte Mörder;" cf. *Sehnsucht nach Offenbarung*, Koch, I, p. 444. Yet Lenau was capable of seeing the peace and loveliness of the ocean:

Fried' und Liebe, hold verbunden,
Schweben auf der Tiefe,
Ob der Tod mit seinen Wunden
Nun auf immer schliefe.
—*Die Seejungfrauen.*

Again he speaks of "das sinnende Meer" (*Wunsch*), and of "die See in ihrer stillen Grösse" (*Klara Hebert: der selige Abend*). *Sturmesmythe*, written in 1833 on Long Island, and *Die Seejungfrauen* should especially be mentioned for the descriptions they contain of the ocean.²² *Meeresstille* ("Sturm mit deinen Donnerschlägen") exhibits the idea expressed in the letter just mentioned: "Ich möchte fast behaupten, das stille Meer ist grösser als das bewegte." A fine, bracing morning at sea is described in

²²The lapping of ocean waves greatly charmed our poet; cf. *Faust: der Traum*:

Der Wanderer Faust, das Auge zu, das Ohr
Dicht an des Schiffes Bretterwand geschmiegt,
Schlaflieder murmelt ihm der Wellenchor.
Faust hört vergnügt im sanften Meerestosen
So nah den Tod an seinem Haupte kosen.
Bald ist's ein Rieseln, ein Geflüster bald,

Dann wieder ein geheimnisvolles Klingen,
Als wenn die Winde über Wies' und Wald
Den Rest verstreuter Glockentöne bringen;
Nun braust es dumpf, wie Wasserfälle rauschen,
Wie vom Gebirge hirtliche Schälmeien,
Nun wieder hört ein träumerisches Lauschen
Von fernem Spielplatz lust'ge Kinder schreien.

Seemorgen: "Der Morgen frisch, die Winde gut, Die Sonne glüht so helle," etc.; a hot summer night on the sea is described in *Die Rache*; a moonlight night is briefly sketched in *Die Seejungfrauen*; and an ocean sunset in *Faust: der Traum*: "Die Sonne neigt hinunter sich im Westen, Noch zittert auf der Fluth ihr Schimmerpfad." Significantly he adds:

Auf weitem Meer ist es ein freudig Grauen,
Den Untergang der Sonne anzuschauen;
Im Augenblicke, wo die fremde See
Die Lebensfreundin Sonne ihm verschlang,
Durchzuckt des Wandrers Herz ein dunkles Weh,
Er sieht die Fluthen dämmern heimlich bang.

Because the sea in all its aspects left so deep an impress upon Lenau's imagination, it is not surprising to find many figures borrowed from the sea in his letters and poetry:²⁴ "Mag das Leben immerhin seine verdriesslichen Trümmer auflagern und häufen an seinem unfreundlichen Ufer — eine einzige Welle der Liebe, des tiefen, weiten und gewaltigen Meeres, spült die Trümmer fort, als wären sie nie dagewesen" (L. and S., p. 25). "Ich will mich wohl ein wenig mässigen in den Ausbrüchen meiner Leidenschaft; ganz kann ich sie nicht beherrschen. Ich fahre auf höchster See, und da lässt sich kein Anker werfen" (L. and S., p. 32). "Aber mein ganzes Blut hatte noch die Strömung nach Dir, wie die Wellen der See nach einem starken Winde noch lange nach seiner Richtung schlagen, wenn er schon nicht mehr da ist" (L. and S., p. 117). "Wie jeder Kummer und jeder bittere Vorgang so bald verschwindet in der Unermesslichkeit unsrer Liebe, ein bischen Schaum im Meere!" (L. and S., p. 174). "Der tiefste Grund der Seele muss wie der Meeresgrund fest und sicher in undurchdringlicher Verborgenheit ruhen. Unbewegt, wenn auch die heftigsten Stürme die oberen Schichten in Aufruhr bringen" (R., p. 231). This utterance is quoted by Emilie as made just before Lenau's last illness. The following passages are taken from his poetry:

Trägt aber uns der Schlaf mit weicher Hand
In's Zauberboot, das heimlich stösst vom Strand,
Und lenkt das Boot im weiten Ocean
Der Traum herum, ein trunkner Steuermann,
So sind wir nicht allein, denn bald gesellen
Die Launen uns der unbeherrschten Wellen
Mit Menschen mancherlei. —*Schlaflose Nacht.*

Dein Schifflein stösst
Schon in's Meer, zum Land
Streckst du die Hand
Noch, überhangend, um Trost;

²⁴ Even before he had seen the ocean, however, such figures occur; e. g.: "Sagen Sie ihr, der guten Schwester, dass auch sie in meiner Seele und Herzen einen Anker geworfen habe, den kein Sturm aufzuheben vermag" (from

a letter to his mother written toward the end of 1818 or at the beginning of 1819). Other passages might be quoted, but they show no originality or poetic power.

Um Trost und Genuss,
 Um Hab' und Halt,
 Und bist schon so alt:
 "O dass man sterben muss!"

Zieh' ein die Hand!
 Den Blick hinaus
 In's Meer! nach Haus!
 Denk' an den ewigen Strand!
 —*Einem Greis.*

Um das Brautpaar, sturmgejagte Brander
 Auf dem Meer der Lust.
 —*Mischka an der Marosch, II.*

Nach dem Sturme lag die See nun
 Schön in ihrer stillen Grösse;
 Nur noch manchmal an das Ufer
 Tönten bange Wellenstösse:

Also zuckt nach starkem Weinen
 Noch das Herz mit bangem Schlage,
 Ist auch schon das Auge heiter,
 Und verstummt des Mundes Klage.
 —*Klara Hebert: der selige Abend.**

Sanftes Wogen, holdes Rieseln;
 Sind des Weltmeers kühle Wellen
 Süss beseelt zu Liebestimmen?
 Wie sie steigen, sinken, schwellen!
 —*Beethovens Büste.*

Rings hinaus in alle Weiten
 Ist das Weltmeer hingegossen,
 Doch ein Ocean der Tiefe
 Ist das Auge eng umschlossen.
 —*Johannes Ziska, V.*

Mag dann der Hölle tiefes Qualenmeer
 Mit seinen Wogen rauschen um mich her,
 Ich werde nicht darin zu Grunde gehn,
 Mir wird aus deinem holden Liebeszeichen
 Ein ewig grünes Eiland auferstehen,
 Verzweifelnd muss die Hölle rückwärts weichen;
 Vergebens werden dann Erinnerungen
 Aus meinen wüsten, schuldgetrübten Tagen
 An's heilige Ufer meiner Liebe schlagen.
 —*Faust: der Mord.*

* Written before he saw the ocean!

Die Sonne neigt hinunter sich im Westen.
 Noch zittert auf der Fluth ihr Schimmerpfad;
 Ein Weilchen harrt, gleich diesen Strahlenresten,
 Die lichte Spur von einer edlen That.

—*Faust: der Traum.*

At the end of his career, Faust calls himself "des tiefen Meers vergänglich bunter Schaum" (*Faust: Faust's Tod*). Don Juan claims that many women "haben . . . die hohe See der Wonne nie befahren" (*Don Juan: Don Juan und Gracioso*).²²

The ocean is furthermore several times mentioned by Lenau as awakening certain thoughts and feelings. In *Zwei Polen: Hippolyt* "tiefe Meeresstille" is associated with "grenzenloser Frieden," and yet the ocean is called "einsam, abgeschieden." A sunset on the ocean fills the heart with "ein dunkles Weh" (*Faust: der Traum*); two lines above the same feeling is called "ein freudig Grauen." Significantly the ocean was for Faust

des Schmerzes hohe Schule,
 Hier mag er [i. e., der Schmerz] würdig aufzuflammen lernen
 Nur nach dem Ew'gen, leider ewig fernen,
 Und dass er nicht nach dem Erschaffnen buhle.

—*Faust: der Traum.*

Lenau is happy in introducing the ocean as a background to give a "Stimmung" in harmony with the subject treated. In *Auf meinen ausgeblägten Geier* the following two lines occur referring to Napoleon:

Und der auf Helena, wenn rings die Meerfluth schäumte,
 Beim Sturme sich zurück in seine Schlachten träumte.

In *Klara Hebert: der selige Abend* a glorious evening on the seashore is the background for the meeting of the noble Pole and Klara, and in *Die Sehnsucht*, another part of the same epic, Klara goes to the sea on fine starlit summer nights, filled with longing for her lover. In *Faust* the ocean is often introduced by way of background; cf. *Faust: der Maler*:

Einsam die hohe Königsvilla stand,
 Und ragt' in's Meer vom steilen Felsenstrand.
 Cypressenhaine und Orangenwälder,
 Die schattend sich an ihr landeinwärts dehnen,
 Erwecken oft dem Seemann heimlich Sehnen,
 Schifft er dahin die wüsten Wogenfelder.—
 Es ruht auf Land und Meer ein schwüler Tag,
 Es reget sich kein Blatt, kein Wellenschlag;
 Doch Abends kommt ein schwarz Gewölk gezogen,
 Der Sturm erwacht und wühlet in den Wogen.
 Am offenen Fenster lehnt im Sommerhaus

²² Besides the passages transcribed, I have noted some thirty more which belong here. Three of these appear in poems written before Lenau's acquaintance with the ocean. Here the references are not striking. We hear of "der

Strand des Lebens," "Todesmeer," "Kampfeswogen," etc. In the remaining passages there is little of additional importance.

Maria, blickend in das Meer hinaus.
 Sie sieht der Sonne letzte Glutten schwinden,
 Sie überlässt ihr blondes Haar den Winden,
 Die freudig mit der Lockenbeute schwanken,
 Und ihre Seele sinnigen Gedanken.

In this passage the atmosphere indicated by the ocean, rocks, orange groves, etc., is felicitously associated with an individuality of so peculiar a tinge as Maria. In *Die Reise* a stormy night on the ocean is used as a background for the scene in which Faust prepares for his sea journey. Again the scene entitled *Görg* is placed in a "Schenke am Meeresstrand." "Nacht, fortwährender Sturm" make the background for *Faust's Tod*. In *Der Sturm* Faust explains his preference for the ocean for characteristic reasons:

Wir wandeln auf dem Schiffelein hin und her,
 Das Schiffelein jagt dahin im weiten Meer,
 Das Meer ist mit den Winden auf der Flucht,
 Die Erde, sammt dem Schiffelein, Meer und Winden,
 Schiesst durch den weiten Himmelsraum und sucht
 In ew'ger Leidenschaft, und kann's nicht finden.
 Mir ist das Meer vertrauter als das Land;
 Hier rauscht es unbestreitbar in die Seele,
 Was dort ich leise, dunkel nur empfand,
 Dass die Natur auch ew'ge Sehnsucht quäle
 Nach einem Glücke, das sie nie gewinnt;
 Und was da lebt im regen Labyrinth
 Kann sich in Ruhe nirgendwo verschanzen,
 Stets in den Sturm der Sehnsucht fortgerissen;
 Und flücht' ich nach den Grabesfinsternissen,
 Muss meine Asche um die Sonne tanzen.

A stormy sea is a delight to Faust; hence he exclaims in *Görg*: "Nun will ich in die Nacht hinaus, Zu laben mich am Sturmgebraus." It is precisely the homelessness of the sea which makes it appear congenial to him:

Die Welle, die der Sturm bewegt,
 Die schäumend an die Klippe schlägt,
 Mehr Heimat haben sie und Ruh,
 Mein einsam Herz, als du!

—*Faust's Tod*.

A study of the treatment of the ocean in *Faust* helps toward a deeper understanding of Lenau the artist. The drama *Faust* is essentially a poem of "Welt-schmerz," and the hero is represented as a titanic soul tortured with intellectual ambition and filled with the same inner struggles which characterized the poet's own life. Hence, again and again to associate Faust with the vast and powerful ocean, especially when surging and storm-swept, is an admirable artistic intuition.

Lastly, many "vivifications" of the ocean occur: e. g., in *Glauben. Wissen. Handeln* (printed in 1830, hence before he saw the ocean):

Ihn hören die Wogen des Meeres berauscht und springen
 Vom schaukelnden Schoosse des Schlummers zu Gott empor,
 Und taumeln entzückt in die Arme sich und singen:
 "Allmächtiger Gott!" im tausendstimmigen Chor.

In *Sturmesmythe* the storm-clouds are made to speak to the ocean, their mother.
 The ocean then awakens:

der Töchter Kummer
 Hat sie aufgestört aus ihrem Schlummer,
 Und sie springt vom Lager hoch empor:
 Mutter — Kinder — brausend sich umschlingen
 Und sie tanzen freudenvild und singen
 Ihrer Lieb' ein Lied im Sturmeschor.

In *Der Schiffsjunge* the waves which engulfed the unfortunate cabin boy are compared to "hungernde Bestien" which dashed upon their victim, "sie schnauben und bellen;" and yet "klar blickt der alte Mörder Ocean Dem Himmel zu, als hätt' er nichts gethan." In *Faust: die Reise* we read: "Wenn Meer und Himmel schweigend sich umschlingen;" In *Faust: der Maler*:

Ha! wie berauscht die aufruhrsvollen Wellen
 Um ihren weissen, warmen Busen schwellen,
 Und höher stets an ihrem Nacken steigen,
 Sie mitzureissen in den wilden Reigen!

Lenau's nature-sense is, generally speaking, distinctly realistic; he does not often treat of supernatural phenomena, like fabulous animals or plants, or the impossible landscapes of fairyland, such as appeal to mediæval writers. Yet here and there supernatural elements are introduced, and sometimes not without skill, for they help to create an atmosphere. So in two of his ocean poems (*Die Seejungfrauen* and *Der Schiffsjunge*) he speaks of "Seejungfrauen," in whose existence he actually believed (Sch., I, p. 199). "Seejungfrauen" are supposed to dwell "im Korallenhage," "in der Korallenauen stillem, trübe dämmerndem Verliess," "in Felsenriffen;" and yet in spite of their bewitching abode they are believed to long for "des Erdenfrühlings heitern Glanz." They are friendly to men, and are conceived as twining "Muscheln zum weissen Rosenkranz" for the boy who lost his life in the ocean." Of seabirds and other animals of the ocean we shall speak later.

We may conclude, then, that Lenau was a passionate lover of the ocean. He occasionally refers to it in letters and poems written before his journey to America; he very frequently speaks of it in the works composed during and immediately after that trip, and even occasionally mentions it in his later and last productions, like *Don Juan*. Hence, Schurz (I, p. 212) is not altogether right when he says: "In späteren

²⁷ Coral and other submarine objects are very rarely mentioned in Lenau. We find "Korallenhand" (in *Trias Harmonica*, written before he saw the ocean); "Muscheln"

are associated with "Seejungfrauen," but only in a general way.

Jahren schimmert das Meer fast nirgends mehr in seinen Gedichten durch." Lenau may be said, together with Heine, to be the greatest interpreter of the ocean in German literature, but Schurz (I, p. 213) again errs in saying that he was "der allererste" who sang "Seelieder." Even in the eighteenth century F. L. Stolberg discovered the wild beauty of the ocean (cf. Keiper, *F. L. Stolberg's Jugendpoesie*, Berlin, 1893, p. 48), and Heine published *Die Nordsee* in 1826, that is, several years before Lenau composed any poems referring to the sea. Besides these two, others in German literature had treated the ocean before Lenau, although with much less power than either Heine or he (cf. Walzel, *Euphorion*, V, pp. 154 ff.).

During the winter of 1822-23 Lenau studied agriculture in Altenburg in Hungary. The results of his studies there amounted to nothing, but his poetic nature was deeply touched by the melancholy beauty of the Hungarian prairies, called "pusztas" (Sch., I, p. 65). As their character has such a touch of grandeur, one might expect more frequent references to them in his works than are actually found there; the Alps and the ocean took up too much of his attention during his most creative years. Yet the fascination of the "Haide" lingered in his mind and left delightful traces in his works.²⁸ In a letter to Sophie (L. and S., p. 79) he says: "Wie ein Novembertag auf einer ungarischen Haide, so liegt mir's heut auf dem Herzen." In *Die Zweifler* Lenau speaks of "des Eises stille Haide;" in *Glauben. Wissen. Handeln* fate bids him go "durch Haideland, verlassener stets und trüber;" in *Die Heidelberger Ruine* the abode of the dead is called "die öden Schattenhaiden;" in *Zweifel und Ruhe* "Zweifel" takes man "durch stille Haiden," there

Wie sonst vom stillen Haideland
Der Wanderer Vögel scheucht empor,
So rauscht ihm an des Zweifels Hand
Von Fragen auf ein wilder Chor.

When Lorenzo dies he imagines himself standing "Einsam, verlassen, nackt, von Winden Auf einer Haide kalt umweht" (*Savonarola: der Tod Lorenzos*). In *Don Juan: erleuchteter Saal im Hause Don Juans*, the hero defines the witchery of love as follows:

Einst über einer Haid' in dunkler Nacht
Sah ich den Himmel glühn in rother Pracht,
Als flammt' in Lüften hoch ein Meteor,
Und als ich näher kam, war's brennend Rohr;
Und als die Binsenglut in Asche fiel,
War schwarz der Himmel, aus das Farbenspiel.
So ist vielleicht der Liebe Zauberei
Nur Himmelswiderschein vom Erdenbrand,
Und wenn der Stoff verzehrt in Asche schwand,
Ist auch das Rosenspiel der Nacht vorbei.

²⁸ A whole group of poems is entitled *Haidebilder*.

The "Haide" is often used by Lenau as a background, sometimes with considerable artistic tact. In *Robert und der Invalide* "das öde Haideland" is the dwelling-place of Robert, ruined by unrequited love, and a cripple; in *Die Haideschenke* "die Haide . . . so still und leer" is associated with robbers and gypsies; in *Ahasver, der ewige Jude* peasants are described as burying a youth, when suddenly the wandering Jew appears, steps to the bier, and gives vent to his longing for death: the background of the whole scene is "die weite, grüne Haide" ("hier lebt die Erde still und arm und trübe"); again, the scene of the famous poem *Die drei Zigeuner* ("Drei Zigeuner fand ich einmal") is laid in a "sandige Haide;" in *Einsamkeit* the atmosphere of complete loneliness and despair is intensified by references to the "Haide": "Hast du schon je dich ganz allein gefunden, Lieblos und ohne Gott auf einer Haide?" The same "Stimmung" pervades the poem entitled *Stimme des Regens*: "Die Lüfte rasten auf der weiten Haide, Die Disteln sind so regungslos zu schauen." Lenau once called himself "ein Stein, der auf einer öden Haide liegt," because he was born in an age indifferent to poetry (Sch., II, p. 92).

It becomes evident from a perusal of the passages just quoted that Lenau does not describe the "pussta" in detail, yet he deeply felt its atmosphere and often introduces it as one of several elements to produce a sad or a dramatic "Stimmung."²⁹ Large plains outside of the "pusstas" Lenau rarely mentions. In a letter dated June 4, 1844 (Sch., II, p. 156), he speaks with delight of "der anmuthige Rhein und eine weithingedehte Fläche, von den bläulichen Vogesen begrenzt;" cf. also a letter dated July 5, 1840 (Sch., II, p. 31): "die Aussicht ins flache Land hinab ist ganz herrlich."

After recording the importance for Lenau's nature-sense of grand elements like the mountains, the ocean, and large plains, we will now turn to a study of the smaller features.

To those capable of enjoying the quiet elements of landscape few things are more delightful and satisfying than valleys in a hilly country. To Lenau, accustomed to the stirring effects of Alpine scenery, "das liebe Thal," as Goethe calls it, has comparatively little attraction. In *Erinnerung*, inserted in a letter to Kleyle dated January 13, 1824 (L. and S., p. 221), is found a vague reference to a valley (or to a plain?): "Nächtliche Stille lag auf Flur und Hain." In *Klara Hebert: Cisteron* the poet speaks of "die schönen, liedervollen Wonnigen Provencerthale." In *An eine Wittwe* we find a very vague reference to a valley: "Und führest nach dem fernen Thale Die Kinder an das Grab des Gatten." In *Faust: der Abendgang* Mephistopheles speaks of "dem geheimen Schattenthal Verbotner süsser Lustgedanken." In *Mischka an der Theiss* the valleys about Tokay are described as follows:

²⁹It is an interesting fact that a large number of Lenau's references to "die Haide" are found in the poems written before 1834; in other words, before the impres-

sions of his youth had been weakened by familiarity with mountains and with the ocean.

In dem Lande der Magyaren,
 Wo der Bodrog klare Wellen
 Mit der Tissa grünen, klaren,
 Freudig rauschend sich gesellen,
 Wo auf sonnenfrohen Hängen
 Die Tokayertraube lacht.

The most genuine burst of appreciation for valleys occurs in *Das Wiedersehen*:

Du heimatliches Thal,
 Mir wird so wohl und wehe,
 Dass ich dich nun einmal,
 Ersehntes! wiedersehe.

This inability to appreciate hills and valleys would help to explain the fact that Lenau could travel through Pennsylvania and Ohio and write from there (letter dated from Lisbon, O., March 6, 1833, Sch., I, p. 207): "Die Natur selbst ist kalt; die Conformation der Berge, die Einbuchtungen der Thäler, Alles ist gleichförmig und unphantastisch."²⁰

Meadows find casual mention in Lenau's works.²¹ In *Seemorgen* he longs for "Berg, Wiese, Laub und Blüthe" while on the ocean. In *Marie und Wilhelm* we read: "Folge mir zur Liebesau Voll ewig grüner Freuden!" Similarly in *Die Albigenser*: *Fulco* we read of "der Freude grüne Auen;" in *Auf eine goldene Hochzeit* he speaks of "grüne Lämmerweide," etc. None of these passages exhibits artistic originality.

Several times Lenau derives metaphors and similes from swamps: "Verständigungen dieser Art sind freilich nur bei wenigen Frauen zu wagen, bei den andern käme man zuweilen auf Moor und Sumpf, wo keine Blumen mehr zu pflücken sind" (L. and S., p. 8). In *Marie und Wilhelm* a girl speaks of herself as sunk in a "bodenlosen Sumpf der Lüste;" in *Faust: der Mord* we read of "Pöbelpfuhl;" in *Die Albigenser*: *Roger* we find: "Ihm ist der helle Strom der Jugendtage Gestockt zu einem Sumpfe, schwarz und schaurig." Nothing in these passages rises above the commonplace. The uncanny fascination of the will-o'-the-wisp ("Irrlicht," "Irrwisch") is referred to several times and sometimes skilfully characterized. Lenau may be supposed to have known it from personal observation. In *Die Waldkapelle* the eyes of an insane man are called "Irrlichter in der Nacht des Wahnsinns schweifend." A temptation which comes to Marie in *Marie und Wilhelm* is called "ein

²⁰ Consequently R. M. MEYER badly blunders when he says in *Die deutsche Litteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 177 ff.: "Aber Lenau war eben nicht, wie Sealsfield, ein Verehrer der grossen imposanten Landschaft (!). Sie muss ihm gemächlich nahe kommen, muss ihm etwas sagen, das ihn persönlich angeht. Er fasst immer nur ein Stück heimischer Natur auf und schaut es, der berühmten Formel entsprechend, durch sein Temperament an: eine See im Mondlicht, ein Stück Haide, die Wurmliinger Kapelle. Er besingt wohl den Niagara, aber nur um eine geistreiche Betrachtung anzuknüpfen — eine Stimmung erweckt er ihm nicht wie der Teich daheim. Er

blieb fremd und eilte heim in die Arme seiner Freunde," etc. It was not lack of "Gemüthlichkeit" in this part of the world which chilled our poet. If anything, too much "Gemüthlichkeit," and the absence of sublimity it implies, were the reasons for Lenau's indifference, for we saw above that he was equally incapable of appreciating simple nature in Europe.

²¹ The valleys of large rivers attracted his attention. He speaks with enthusiasm (Sch., II, p. 11) of the "Donaugegend;" we furthermore know that he enjoyed the valley of the Hudson (Sch., I, p. 212).

böses Irrlicht, lockend sehr mit lieblichem Gefunkel;" in *Johannes Ziska*, VIII death is compared with an "Irrwisch auf dem Halse hockend;" in *Faust: der Mord* Hubert calls Faust's look "ein Irrwisch faul der zu den Sternen trachtet;" and in *Faust's Tod* we read :

Was noch als Irrlicht, flüchtig, leicht,
Dem Knaben durch die Seele streicht,
Kehrt in die Brust des Manns einmal
Plötzlich zurück als Wetterstrahl.

In *Savonarola: das Gelage* Cæsar Borgia's look watches "wie über einem schwülen Pfuhle ein Irrwisch flackert in der Nacht." In *Don Juan* a monk says to a girl: "Heb von hinnen mir den Irrwisch deines Leibes."

One of the most fascinating features of outdoor nature is the sky.²² Its complexion changes from hour to hour even when cloudless: in early morning it is bathed in chaste serenity; at noon splendor and brilliancy mark its character which slowly mellow into the deeper and richer tints of evening; while at night it assumes majestic sublimity. But while the progress of the sun largely determines the shifting glories of the sky by day, the moon is not essential to lend it charm by night; for the sky is perhaps more beautiful when the stars are not thrown into eclipse. Yet the moon fills space with delicate light and gives the sky silvery transparency. All we have said refers to the cloudless sky; clouds add a distinct beauty, whether they be tinged with the rosy hues of morning, or in the afternoon roll in fleecy whiteness, or be dipped in the blood of sunset, or, storm-driven, career across an angry sky; even the lead of a winter sky has gloomy majesty. Consequently, the sky in all its aspects furnishes ample material to the poet; but whether any artist in verse has ever yet availed himself of all these beauties, I am inclined to doubt. Tennyson has so far been the greatest word-painter of sky effects.

Lenau, we shall see, is sensitive by no means to all the charms of the sky, though he is one of the most powerful interpreters of some of them. A few times he speaks of the sky as such; so in L. and S., p. 231: "Einst, o nächtlicher Himmel! blickt' ich Selig empor zu Dir, umschlungen Von der Geliebten." When Klara Hebert marries, no cloud appears, "Auf das Glück der treuen Liebe Will der ganze Himmel schauen" (*Klara Hebert: der Ring*). One of Lenau's poems is entitled *An den Ischler Himmel im Sommer 1838*. Sometimes the sky is introduced in metaphors and similes: "Ein Kind, die Augen wie der Morgenhimmel klar" (*Faust: der Traum*); in *Zwei Polen* a gloomy sky is compared to Poland; in *Meeresstille* a pretty bit of "vivification" occurs: "Leget sich der Himmel, müde, Nieder auf das weiche Meer." A most infelicitous "vivification" is found in *Marionetten*, II: "Der Himmel schien am Halse ihr zu liegen."

²² For the sake of convenience I may be permitted to speak in this paragraph not merely of the phenomena of the sky (i. e., the sky proper, the sun, moon, clouds, fogs,

rain, storms, etc.), but to discuss those passages also in which appear references to the effects of sunlight and moonlight on trees and mountains.

The sun and sunshine are sometimes mentioned, though in no remarkable way. In *Zuruf an meinen Geist* he speaks of the "gold'ne Sonne," and in *Faust: der Traum* the sun is called "die Lebensfreundin." Again, occasionally metaphors and similes occur: "ein Sonnenblick der Liebe" (Mayer, p. 9); "alle trübe Vergangenheit ist leuchtender Sonnenschein gegen die drohende Zukunft" (L. and S., p. 26); "gold'ne Sonnenblicke der Einsamkeit" (L. and S., p. 71); in *Faust: der Jugendfreund* a friend is called, "Du schöner letzter Strahl von meiner Sonne, die versunken!"

Dawn and morning effects in the sky and on the earth Lenau introduces with more frequency, and proves his fondness for them by happy touches:

Wie da im rothen Morgenstrahl
Die Fensterlein erglänzten;
Und wie so freudig Berg und Thal
Mit Rosen sich bekränzten!
—*Reise-Empfindung.*

Der Morgen frisch, die Winde gut,
Die Sonne glüht so helle
Gewirkt von goldner Strahlenhand
Aus dem Gesprüh der Wogen,
Kommt ihm zur Seit' ein Irisband
Hellflatternd nachgeflogen.
—*Seemorgen.*

Jubelnd ist der Tag erschienen,
Schwingt den Goldpokal der Sonne,
Giesst auf Berg und Thal berauschend
Nieder seine Strahlenwonne.
—*Klara Hebert: der Ring.*

Die Nacht vorüber, und im Osten
Hellstrahlend auf die Sonne geht,
Der Donner und der Sturm verstosen,
Die Luft voll Duft und Liedern weht.
—*Savonarola: die suchende Mutter.*

The effects of morning light are several times used in metaphors and similes: "Die Morgenstrahlen einer wahrhaft geweihten Kunst werden immer nur die Bergesgipfel empfangen" (R., p. 103);

Von seinen Zinnen [i. e., des Berges] fließt allmählig
Der Morgenstrahl zur Schlucht herein,
Bis endlich aufglänzt, licht und selig,
Das ganze Thal im Sonnenschein.
So ist vom Antlitz dieses Frommen,
Als er zum Volk begeistert spricht,
Der helle Strahl herabgekommen
Und glüht auf jedem Angesicht.
—*Savonarola: Weihnacht.*

Wie sich der Tag im Osten schwingt,
 So glüht mein Muth im Kampfgebote.
 —*Savonarola: der Brief.*

Lenau more frequently speaks of the sunset and sunset effects, and at times with extraordinary poetic delicacy:

Ein Sonnenuntergang auf der Schlossruine [i. e., of Heidelberg] an einem klaren Maienabend gehört zu den Naturgenüssen ersten Ranges. Ein Himmel, wie ich ihn nur auf einigen griechischen und italienischen Landschaften von Rottmann, Marko u. A. gesehen, mit jenen stillfeurigen Vibrationen der Luft (Sch., II, p. 156).

A sunset once so deeply affected him that he wrote:

Man sollte, wenn man von seinen liebsten Freunden getrennt ist, keinen Sonnenuntergang ansehen. Als ich neulich auf einer Höhe bei Heidelberg mich in dieses Schauspiel vertiefte, ergriff mich im Augenblicke des Verschwindens ein wunderbar tiefes Gefühl von der Schmerzlichkeit solcher Trennungen und von der Unerstlichkeit eines Tages, der wieder dahin ist, ohne dass man sich gesehen (Sch., II, p. 161).

In his poetry, too, occur many passages referring to sunsets:²²

Die Sonne sinkt, die Berge glüh'n,
 Und aus des Abends Rosen
 Seh' ich so schön dein Bild mir blüh'n.
 —*Dein Bild.*

Der Himmel liess, nachsinnend seiner Trauer,
 Die Sonne lässig fallen aus der Hand.
 —*Himmelstrauer.*

In *Ahasver, der ewige Jude*, a beautiful sunset furnishes a fitting background for a death scene:

Die Sonne geht im Westen still verloren,
 Und auf den Blüthen, die sie jüngst geboren,
 Verweilen ihre warmen Blicke noch.

In *Waldkapelle*, III, a sunset adds to the poetic "Stimmung" of a wedding scene: "da glomm Durch's Fenster hell herein die Abendröthe." Compare Sch., II, p. 31: "So hell und fromm schien die untergehende Sonne herein, dass ich wunderbar bewegt wurde." Similarly in *Erinnerung* a sunset constitutes the background for a love scene. Metaphors and similes taken from sunset effects are sometimes interesting and striking. In *Don Juan: Prospero und Maria* Maria says of her lover: "Er wandelt schon im Niedergang des Lebens Und schaut der Abendsonne kühle Neige;" and a little further on we read: "Wie Morgenröthe mit dem Abendrothe Am Himmel nicht zusammen will erscheinen, So soll . . . Die Jugend nicht dem Alter sich vereinen." In *Die Albigenser: der Rosenkranz* a priest is killed in battle while the sun is setting: "Der Sonne wie sie sank ein Widerspiel War jener Tolle sinkend in sein Blut." In *Die Albigenser: Ritter und Mönch* occurs a characteristic "vivification": "das Abendscheinen Floh mit dem dürrn Laub den bangen Ort."

²² The gloaming after the sunset the poet thus describes in *Der Jäger*: "Es zwittert schon im Thale Grau zwischen Tag und Nacht."

I subjoin a few more passages in which Lenau speaks with great artistic exquisiteness of lingering sunset tints. I speak of them separately, first of all, because they are many in number, and, then, because particular attention should be called to Lenau's exceptional sensitiveness to these phenomena, and to his happy language in recording them. He writes (Sch., II, p. 30): "Da ging es bei wunderschöner Beleuchtung durch herrliche Wälder fort. Die festlich beleuchteten, vorüberschwindenden Bäume waren eine schöne Frühlingsprocession." In another letter he says (R., p. 152): "Das erste Abendroth auf den Höhen, die erste Alpenstimme einer Jodlerin haben mich mit dem alten nie zu schwächenden Zauber ergriffen." Add these passages: "Stumm und regungslos Ruht die tiefe See Ungespürt glühn die Abendfunken, Wie auf einem Todtenangesicht" (*Sturmesmythe*); "Wir sehn des Berges Haupt in Purpur prangen, Wenn schon die Sonne sank und Dämmerung Den Hain umflort" (*Unmögliches*); "Stumm rang die Nacht mit letztem Sonnenstrahle" (*Der ewige Jude*);

Er starrt auf Alpen hin, ihr seliges Umnachten,
Das leise Zauberspiel des Lichtes zu betrachten;
Wie mit den fernen Höh'n die Strahlen dort verkehren,
Und sich in stiller Gluth im letzten Kuss verzehren.

—*Das Ross und der Reiter.*

"Wir sahn das Abendroth die Gipfel färben, Es war ein Spiel vom schönsten Abendlichte" (*Erinnerung*); "Die Gipfel, als die Sonne schied, Schwelgten stumm im letzten Purpurscheine" (*An die Alpen*); "Abend ist's, die Wipfel wallen, Zitternd schon im Purpurscheine" (*Waldlieder*, VIII);

Und der Tag versank im Meere:
Scheidend warf er seine Strahlen
In der Wellen bunt Gedränge,
Wie ein König, goldverstreud,
Scheidet von der frohen Menge.

—*Klara Hebert: der selige Abend.*

"Es glüht im Abendscheine purpurhell Der Wald verloren in sprachlose Wonnen" (*Faust: der Abendgang*); "Die Sonne neigt hinunter sich im Westen, Noch zittert auf der Fluth ihr Schimmerpfad" (*Faust: der Traum*); "Die Sonne im Gebirge sinket, Des Himmels letzter Purpurstrahl Das Erdendunkel flüchtig schminket" (*Savonarola: die Wanderer*); "Wie reitet sich's durch einen Wald so traut, Wenn nur die Wipfel noch von Sonne wissen" (*Don Juan: Marcello*).

The moon has ever been the favorite theme of poets. Lenau very rarely refers to the moon itself (*cf.*, however, *Hypochonders Mondlied*), but he often speaks, and not infrequently with admirable felicity, of moonlight effects. Dr. Wurzbach tells of Lenau (Frankl, p. 78) that he exclaimed on a moonlight night: "Es ist gut, dass nach dem Untergang der Sonne der Mond aufgeht. Ich liebe nächtliches Dunkel, aber nicht die dunkle Nacht. Dieser Mond am Himmel ist wie eine Sonnenblume, dem

sich das Auge, mag es wollen oder nicht, zuwenden muss." The following passages will serve to illustrate this point:

Ich sah in bleicher Silbertracht
Die Birkenstämme prangen,
Als wäre dran aus heller Nacht
Das Mondlicht blieben hangen.
—*Reise-Empfindung.*

Freundlich streut er meinem Blicke
Aus dem Silberschein
Stromhinüber eine Brücke
Bis zum stillen Hain.
—*Das Mondlicht.*

Leichte Abendwölkchen schweben
Hin im sanften Mondenglanz,
Und aus bleichen Rosen weben
Sie dem todten Tag den Kranz.
—*Vergangenheit.*

der stille, blasse, schleicht heran,
Als wollt' er diebisch unsrer Hütte nahn
Und uns mit seinen leisen Silberhänden
Den leichten Schlaf durch's Fensterlein entwenden.
—*Robert und der Invalide.*

Zur sanften Wehmuth lichtet sich das Thal,
Dort kommt der Mond zum stillen Abschiedsfeste;
Es will sein Silberschimmer noch einmal
Sich schmiegen an des Sommers karge Reste.
Wie schwach ist schon der Eiche fahles Laub!
Den leichten Mondstrahl kann es nicht mehr tragen,
Es bricht und zittert unter ihm in Staub.
—*Die Waldkapelle, II.*

Add to the above quotations: "[es] spielen Laub und Mondesschein" (*Die Heidelberger Ruine*); "der wirre Mondschein" (*Das Wiedersehen*); "Des Mondes und der Wellen heimlichen Verkehre" (*Die Seejungfrauen*); "Fischlein . . . Fürchten sich nicht vor den silbernen Netzen Welche der Mond warf über den Fluss" (*Die Bauern am Tissastrande*); "Jedes Blatt, von Mondesblicken Wie bezaubert, stille steht" (*Waldlieder, V*); "Klingend strömt des Mondes Licht Auf die Eich' und Hagerose" (*ibid.*); "Das volle Mondlicht hatte sich ergossen, Beruhigend sich an das Thal zu schmiegen" (*Marionetten, II*); "im Mondesscheine, Der wie versöhnend die Ruin' umfloss" (*ibid., III*); "Man hört . . . schier den Mondstrahl auf das Wasser fallen" (*Faust: der Traum*). More references to moonlight occur, but they are not interesting; sometimes they are mere statements of fact: "Der Mond bescheint die alten Fichten" (*Winternacht, I*); "Es schimmern Mond und Sterne" (*Die Seejungfrauen*). Sometimes what the poet predicates is commonplace.

The fascination of the moon for Lenau consists not merely in the mystic effects of its light, but in the peculiarly poetical and, at times, grewsome "Stimmung" it creates. In a sense, most of the passages quoted in the last paragraph belong here; but I will speak separately of those in which the "Stimmung" seems to be the more important element:

Dort in seiner Einsamkeit
Kommt der Mond nun wieder,
Und er lächelt still und bleich
Seinen Gruss hernieder.
—*Das Posthorn.*

Lieulich war die Maiennacht,
Silberwölklein flogen . . .
Schlummernd lagen Wies' und Hain,
Jeder Pfad verlassen;
Niemand als der Mondenschein
Wachte auf der Strassen.
—*Der Postillon.*

In *Der Raubschütz* the ghost of the "wilde Kurd" takes the old miller into "des Walds geheimstem Ort" to show him the spot where he was killed: "Es ächzt der Wald im Sturm verzagt, Vom Monde jetzt erhellt." A "Stimmung" of profound melancholy is produced by the moonlight as described in *Klara Hebert: der nächtliche Gang*:

Tiefe Nacht;—der stille Vollmond
Hebt sich jenseits von den Auen,
Und die Wellen der Durance
Sind ein Silberstrom zu schauen.
Flüchtig eilen sie vorüber
An den mondbeglänzten Riffen,
Und von räthselhafter Wehmuth
Fühlt der Wanderer sich ergriffen.

In *Faust: der See* we find: "Hell scheint der Mond, es spielen, leisen Bebens, Die Strahlen lieblich auf dem tiefen See;" while Mephistopheles brings up from the lake the skeleton of a child. In *Don Juan: Kirchhof. Mondnacht* Don Juan is made to come upon the statue of the governor on a moonlight night. Cf. also the description in *Marionetten*, III:

Durch Nebel taucht' empor das blutigrothe
Antlitz des Mondes am bewegten Himmel,
Der schreckensvollen Nacht ein ernster Bote.

The following "vivifications" should be recorded:

Da steht der Irre, bleich und stumm, den Blick,
Das bittre Lächeln auf den Mond gerichtet;
Es prallt das Mondlicht scheu von ihm zurück.
—*Die Waldkapelle*, II.

Am Himmel zieht der bleiche Mond verdrossen
Den Wolkenmantel zu, als ob er fröre.

—*Die nächtliche Fahrt.*

Es taucht der Mond mit seinem Strahl,
Von süßser Erdenlust zu naschen,
In manchen schäumenden Pokal.

Savonarola: das Gelage.

Figures are not frequent. In *Das Mondlicht* the beloved of the poet is called "süßes Mondlicht meiner Nächte;" in *Die Felsenplatte* we find:

Aus dem schwanken Blüthengitter
Strahlt ein Mädchenangesicht,
Wie der Mond aus dem Geflitter
Leiser Silberwellen bricht.

Lenau shows less fondness for the stars than other poets, though we should not be justified in calling him indifferent to them: "Zum Himmel hebt er dann die Blicke gerne Und sucht den Gruss der heimatlichen Sterne" (*Faust: der Traum*). In *Die Waldkapelle*, II, Lenau speaks of the "stillen, klaren, ewiggleichen Frieden, Mit dem die Sterne wandeln ihren Lauf." The stars remain when other things fade (*Savonarola: die Novizen*); only a union of two hearts made in God's presence will outlast them (*ibid.*); but even the stars will fall some time like "ein müdes Schwalbenvolk" (*Die Zweifler*); the stars are sublime, for God "lässt um's Haupt sich schweben Den grossen Sternenbaldachin" (*Savonarola: die Entscheidung*). They are omnipresent: the toper, to be completely alone, "meidet selbst die Sterne" (*Der einsame Trinker*, II); yet the stars are cold and callous, they do not answer the anxious questionings of the heart as to the where and whither of things (*Klara Hebert: der nächtliche Gang*); they do not appreciate the looks of the beloved (*Neid der Sehnsucht*); etc.

Stars are sometimes introduced by way of symbols, yet never in a fashion remarkable, interesting, or powerful. "Ein schöner Stern" means a period of happiness; "mein Stern" symbolizes the poet's fate (*An die Melancholie*); etc. Starlight effects Lenau rarely refers to: "Kaum manchmal durch Baum und Strauch Zweifelt eines Sternes Flimmer" (*Anna*, V); "Wohl lieblich zittert heller Sterne Licht Durch's zarte junge Laub im Windesbeben" (*Don Juan: die Balze*). A glimmer of the stars adds to the "Stimmung" of the love scene in *Erinnerung* (L. and S., p. 221). In *Mischka an der Marosch*, III, two lovers are alone:

Kaum belauscht von einem Dämmerchein,
Welchen durch der Scheiben trübe Blenden
Sterne nach dem Erdenhimmel senden.

"Vivifications" are rare: In *Die Zweifler* the "zitternd Blinken" of the stars is interpreted as an indication of their final downfall. In *Faust: Maria* we read: "O

eilet goldne Strahlen von den Sternen, Und strömet eure Küsse auf sie nieder." Metaphors and similes are generally uninteresting. He calls his beloved "mein Stern, zu dem ich in jedem Sturm aufblicke" (Sch., II, p. 7; cf. *Mein Stern*); the beloved gleams like the evening star (*Schilflieder*, I); in *Faust: der Traum* occurs: "In Wolken sind die Sterne dort verkrochen, Wie Kinder sich verkriechen in die Decken."

Poets greatly differ in their appreciation of cloud effects. Lenau is very fond of storm clouds, but clouds in a serene sky impress him less, though his descriptions of them at times are delicate:

An der duftverlorenen Gränze
Jener Berge tanzen hold
Abendwolken ihre Tänze
Leichtgeschürzt im Strahlengold.
—*Meine Braut.*

Am Himmelsantlitz wandelt ein Gedanke,
Die düstre Wolke dort, so bang, so schwer.
—*Himmelstrauer.*

Lieulich war die Maiennacht,
Silberwölklein flogen,
Ob der holden Frühlingspracht
Freudig hingezogen.
—*Der Postillon.*

Still hält der lichte Wolkenzug und schaut
Herunter nach der schönen Frühlingserde.
—*Faust: Abendgang.*

O Wolke dort im Untergang:
Ich segne dir dein Wandelspiel.
—*Ibid.*

In *An die Entfernte* a cloud is addressed as a messenger to his beloved. Metaphors and similes are neither frequent nor remarkable: "Das war die dunkelste Wolke an unserm Horizonte an den übrigen Wolken—ich meine die Rappelwolken ist weniger gelegen" (R., p. 165).

Not everyone understands the poetry of rain; and yet there is a peculiar charm about a rainy landscape, particularly in late autumn. Lenau felt this keenly, as is proved by some passages referring to rain. In a letter (L. and S., p. 131) he writes: "Das Wetter ist seit gestern wie ich es liebe: warm, regnerisch und gewitterhaft; abwechselnd mit hellen Stunden, in denen man immer schon den Regen spürt." In *Die Albigenser: Nachtgesang*, II, "sanfter Frühlingsregen" is by implication called one of the fairest things in nature. The "Wonne der Wehmuth" which a rainy landscape produces in him is rendered in a passage in *Stimme des Kindes*; he says, while contemplating a sleeping child,

Das Kind, nicht ahnend mein bewegtes Lauschen,
 Mit dunklen Lauten hat mein Herz gesegnet,
 Ein tiefres Heimweh hat mich überfallen,
 Als wenn es auf die stille Haide regnet.

A good description of the "Stimmung" produced by a rainy landscape is found in *Stimme des Regens*:

Und Erd' und Himmel haben keine Scheide,
 In Eins gefallen sind die nebelgrauen
 Nun plötzlich wankt die Distel hin und wieder,
 Und heftig rauschend bricht der Regen nieder
 Der Wanderer hört den Regen niederbrausen,
 Er hört die windgepeitschte Distel sausen,
 Und eine Wehmuth fühlt er, nicht zu sagen.

Compare *Schilflieder*, II. A significant passage occurs in *Wanderung im Gebirge*:

Süss träumt es sich in einer Scheune,
 Wenn drauf der Regen leise klopft;
 So mag sich's ruhn im Todtenschreine,
 Auf den die Freundeszähre tropft.

Of course, rain is interpreted by Lenau as the weeping of nature; cf.: "Dass auf unsern Grabeshang Niemand als der Regen weinet!" (*Herbstentschluss*); "Es regnet, immer dichter, herab, Als weinte der Himmel mit, auf's Grab" (*An einem Grabe*);

Nun kam ein Regen; dass der Himmel weine,
 Erkennt das Herz an kahlen Felsenriffen,
 Wo es vom Regen traurig wird ergriffen,
 Dass er nicht wecken kann die todtten Steine.

—*Der ewige Jude*.

Similes and metaphors are rarely interesting. In a letter (Sch., II, p. 95) a note from the beloved is compared with a "süsser Frühlingsregen." In *Stimme des Regens* we find: "Heftig rauschend bricht der Regen nieder, Wie laute Antwort auf ein stummes Fragen." In *Mein Herz* an unhappy mood in the poet is projected against the background of a rainy night: "Schlaflose Nacht, der Regen rauscht," etc. A grewsome incident is described against the same background in *Der traurige Mönch*.²⁴

Fog and mist lend a charm of mystery to things. Lenau is aware of it; he was keenly sensitive to the creeping restlessness of fog and the peculiar atmosphere of sadness it is apt to create, and is at times very happy in characterizing fog effects: "Nebel auf der Wiese weidet" (*Herbstentschluss*); "Wie die Nebel flattern, Vom

²⁴The rainbow seems not to have deeply impressed Lenau. He speaks of it rarely and without originality; cf. *Die Haideschenke*, *Wanderung im Gebirge: der Abend*, etc. Snow finds occasional mention; cf. *Johannes Ziska*, IX. Lenau lacks appreciation for its beauty. There are a few references to hail. Similarly hoarfrost is mentioned here and there, though not in a remarkable way.

Dew is, consistently with Lenau's general view of nature, interpreted as the tears of heaven: "Die Blume trank des Himmels leise Zähre" (*An Kleyle*); "Aufblüht die Haideblume wieder, Die schon dem Tode nickte zu, Weint still die Nacht ihr Mitleid nieder" (*An Luise*). Sometimes, however, dewdrops are not looked upon as tears; cf. *An Klemm*, etc.

Herbstwind aufgejagt" (*Robert und der Invalide*); "so schwärmen die Gedanken, Wie dort durch's öde Thal die Herbstesnebel schwanken" (*Ein Herbstabend*); "Nebel auf die Stoppeln taut" (*Der Kranich*). The moon shining through a fog is described in *Marionetten*, III: "Durch Nebel taucht' empor das blutigrothe Antlitz des Mondes am bewegten Himmel." Metaphors and similes taken from fog effects are not striking: "Wie ein dicker Nebel lag es auf uns und unserer Liebe" (L. and S., p. 22); "Wenn ich dran denke, überzieht mich's wie ein Todesnebel" (L. and S., p. 160); "wie leichte Nebel schleichen Durch's Gestein Erinnerungen" (*Klara Hebert: der Ring*).

Perhaps what most impressed Lenau about the wind is its sad note: "Es wimmerten die Winde schluchtfangen" (*Der ewige Jude*); "Durch's hohe Gras allein der Windhauch stöhnte" (*Marionetten*, III);

Die aufgeschreckte Seele lauscht dem Winde
Wie Worten ihres Vaters, der dem Kinde
Zuruft, vom Spiele heimwärts aufzubrechen.

—*Stimme des Windes*.

As the wind seems to Lenau a cry of pain, it frequently suggests sad thoughts; cf.:

Nun brausen über Schnee und Eis
Die Winde fort mit tollem Jagen,
Als wollten sie sich rennen heiss:
Wach' auf, o Herz, zu wildem Klagen!

—*Winternacht*, II.

Im Gebüsch der Winde Sausen
Weckt der Reue wilden Schrei.

—*Anna*, V.

Of other "vivifications" which Lenau introduces besides those already quoted some are characteristic; e. g.:

Nun läuten die Begräbnissglocken,
Der Wind, bewegt von ihrem Klang,
Flieht in den Wald, und Blütenflocken
Streift er von allen Zweigen bang.

—*An Luise*.

Figures derived from wind phenomena are not frequent. In a letter (Sch., I, p. 375) he claims that his melancholy comes over him with so much suddenness "dass ich es nicht besser bezeichnen kann, als wenn ich sage: plötzlich hat mich wieder der traurige Wind angeweht."

Nothing in nature, not even mountains, more deeply affected Lenau than storms; his references to them are legion, and his descriptions or characterizations of them at times conspicuous for stirring power. It is the exhibition of force and the element of excitement associated with storms that delight him. So again we see the poet of the Alps and of the ocean impressed by a titanic element.

Many passages in his letters and in his poems reveal his intense love for storms. I remind the reader once more of the often quoted lines:

Ein Gewitter in den Alpen,
 Stürme auf dem Oceane,
 Und das grosse Herz Beethovens
 Sind die Wecker mir des Muthes,
 Der das Schicksal wagt zu fodern.

—*Beethovens Büste.*

Compare *Waldlieder*, II: during a storm

mir im Herzensgrund
 Ist Heiterkeit und Stille;
 Mir wächst in solcher Stund'
 Und härtet sich der Wille.

Lenau's delight in thunderstorms in the mountains is beautifully recorded in a letter dated August 15, 1835 (R., pp. 82, 83):

Abends 9 Uhr kam ich auf meiner Fusswanderung in Begleitung eines heftigen Gewitters in die Vorhölle. Die Natur schien alle ihre Schrecken zusammenzunehmen, um sich in ihrer würdigsten Gestalt zu zeigen. Die Blitze gossen sich wie Ströme auf die steilen, grauen Kalkfelsen herab, der Donner, der Sturmwind, der sich in den Klippen wie in einer Riesentuba verding und nicht brauste sondern eigentlich klang, das Rauschen des Wassers und das von Zeit zur Zeit ertönende Geschrei einer Eule, das alles drang die ganze Nacht auf mich ein und erhielt mich in der Spannung eines schauerlichen Entzückens.

He further expresses his love for thunderstorms in a note to Sophie (L. and S., p. 74):

Heute war wieder starkes Gewitter abends, und ich höre es noch in der Ferne ausbrummen. Ganze Sträucher von Blitzen glühten am Himmel auf. Ich weidete mich lange an dieser schnellen Vegetation, wo Geburt, Leben und Tod so zusammenschlägt in einen flammenden Augenblick.

At the Vienna Art Exhibition in 1839 the only picture he thoroughly admired was "Eine italienische Landschaft im Gewitter," which he goes on to describe as follows (R., p. 114):

Das Bild ist gross und reich. Der erste Aushauch des Sturmes. Der Baumschlag vollendet schön. Die obern Partien des Laubwerks in ihrer fahlen Färbung und einige in die Luft hinausragende weissliche graue dürre Zweige stechen wunderbar ab gegen das schwarze Wettergewölk dahinter. Man sieht entzückt den Sturm und das Genie des Malers über den Wald, der sich darunter beugt, dahin brausen.

In his poetry this appreciation of the lurid grandeur of storms is frequently formulated, partly directly in exclamations and partly more subtly in descriptions and characterizations. Robert in *Robert und der Invalide* calls "die Wetternacht" his "Schatzel;" Faust (*Faust: die Reise*) exclaims: "O Sturm! wie sehne ich mich nach dir!" Compare too: "Gib mir ein Herz, das lauten Wetterklang wie süsse Nachtigallenlieder schlürfe!" (*Marionetten*, II). "Wo der Sturm, ein trunkener Sänger Gottes, dahinbraust, Mit fliegender Locke, mit rauschendem Nachtgewand" (*Glauben. Wissen. Handeln*). The following passages will prove interesting:

Noch immer lag ein tiefes Schweigen
 Rings auf den Höh'n, doch plötzlich fuhr
 Der Wind nun auf zum wilden Reigen,
 Die sausende Gewitterspur.

Am Himmel eilt, mit dumpfem Klange,
 Herauf der finstre Wolkenzug:
 So nimmt der Zorn im heissen Drange
 Den nächtlichen Gedankenflug.

Der Himmel donnert seinen Hader;
 Auf seiner dunkeln Stirne glüht
 Der Blitz hervor, die Zornesader,
 Die Schrecken auf die Erde sprüht.

Der Regen stürzt in lauten Güssen;
 Mit Bäumen, die der Sturm zerbrach,
 Erbraust der Strom zu meinen Füßen.

—*Wanderung im Gebirge: Das Gewitter.*

Das Käuzlein traurig ruft in öder Felsenritze
 Und grüsst mit seinem Lied des Himmels wilde Blitze.

Als wie ein schwarzer Aar, dess Flügel Feuer fingen,
 So schlägt die schwarze Nacht die feuervollen Schwingen.

Es glänzt die Regenfluth, der finstern Nacht entsunken,
 Manchmal im Wetterschein wie diamantne Funken.

So kann in banger Nacht ein Strom von heissen Zähnen
 Im hellen Wetterschein des Unglücks sich verklären.

Verfangen in der Schlucht, die lauten Winde rasen,
 Die zu der Wolkenschlacht die Riesentuba blasen.

Mit Stimmen mannigfalt hör' ich den Giessbach klingen,
 Wie Donner, Kauz und Wind scheint er zugleich zu singen.

Doch nein! mich täuscht mein Sinn, als ob zum Wettergrimme
 Mit kläglichem Geschrei das Felsenkäuzlein stimme;

Dass Wolkenschlachtmusik die lauten Winde keuchten,
 Und dass der Blitz geflammt, den Regen zu beleuchten;

Und dass der Felsenbach den Wetterstimmen allen
 Antworten will zugleich in dumpfen Widerhallen.

—*Täuschung.*

Die Vögel fliehn geschwind
 Zum Nest im Wetterhauche,
 Doch schleudert sie der Wind
 Weitab von ihrem Strauche.

Das Wild mit banger Hast
 Ist in's Gebüsch verkrochen;
 Manch grünend frischer Ast
 Stürzt nieder, sturmgebrochen.

Das Heer der Wolken schweift
Mit rothen Blitzesfahnen,
Aufspielend wirbelt, pfeift
Die Bande von Orkanen.

Das Bächlein, sonst so mild,
Ist ausser sich gerathen,
Springt auf an Bäumen wild,
Verwüstend in die Saaten.

Der Donner bricht herein,
Es kracht die Welt in Wettern,
Als wollt' am Felagestein
Der Himmel sich zerschmettern.

Der Regen braust; nun schwand
Das Thal in seiner Dichte;
Verpfählt hat er das Land
Vor meinem Augenlichte.

—*Waldlieder*, II.

Und die freien Wetterwolken
Ziehen rasch vorbei und schneiden
Finstre, höhnische Gesichter
In den Kerker auf die Beiden.

Brausend fliegt des Todes Jagdhund
Sturm bergan in wilder Eile,
Seinen Herrn zu suchen, irrt er
Durch die Felsen mit Geheule.

—*Klara Hebert: die Gewitternacht*.

Compare, for no less striking descriptions, *Dein Bild*, *Meine Braut*, *Die Zweifler*, and *Der schwarze See*. Compare too:

Die Wolken schienen Rosse mir,
Die eilend sich vermengten,
Des Himmels hallendes Revier
Im Donnerlauf durchsprengten;
Der Sturm ein wackrer Rosseknecht,
Sein muntres Liedel singend,
Dass sich die Heerde tummle recht,
Des Blitzes Geissel schwingend.

—*Die Haideschenke*.

Der Sturm ist laut und plötzlich aufgefahren,
Wie, wer verschlafen, schnell vom Lager bricht.

—*Marionetten*, II.

Und heft'ger regnet's; von erwachten Winden
Ward Wolk' an Wolke brausend zugetragen;
Wie zu des Herzens jüngsten Thränen, Klagen
Sich alter Schmerzen ferne Quellen finden.

—*Der ewige Jude*.

We find many figures borrowed from storm effects, some of which, however, are commonplace: "Schicksalsstürme," "ein Sturm von Freuden," "der Sturm meiner Leidenschaften," "der Sturm des Hasses," "Strafgewitter," "des Kirchenbann's Orkane," etc., etc. "Stürme" or "Orkane" often stand for difficulties, opposition, or trouble, etc. The following figures, however, reveal originality or poetic feeling: "Sie [Karoline Unger] liess in ihrem Gesang ein singendes Gewitter von Leidenschaften los" (Sch., II, p. 3); "In Karolinen hat es [i. e., "das Göttliche im Leben"] mir ein heiliges Gewitter in die Seele geschlagen" (Sch., II, p. 7); "Des Basses Sturmgewitter" (*Die Werbung*); "Die Sünde tobt in jauchzenden Gewittern" (*Die Albigenser: das Vogelnest*). Here and there a scene is outlined against a stormy background. In *Die drei Indianer* a thunderstorm rolls in the sky while three Indians seek death in Niagara:

Mächtig zürnt der Himmel im Gewitter,
Schmettert manche Rieseneich' in Splitter,
Uebertönt des Niagara Stimme,
Und mit seiner Blitze Flammenruthen
Peitscht er schneller die beschäumten Fluthen,
Dass sie stürzen mit empörtem Grimme;

In *Faust: der Mord* a storm arises while Faust murders the prince; cf. *Klara Hebert: die Gewitternacht*. During Faust's death there is "fortwährender Sturm" (*Faust: sein Tod*). Significantly for Lenau a storm awakens sad thoughts in him. In *Meine Braut* a storm calls out to him: "Deine Braut heisst Qual," etc. Lenau was much fascinated by lightning:

Könnt' ich leben also innig,
Feurig, rasch und ungebunden,
Wie das Leben jenes Blitzes,
Der dort im Gebirg verschwunden!
—*Warnung und Wunsch.*

Der Himmel donnert seinen Hader;
Auf seiner dunkeln Stirne glüht
Der Blitz hervor, die Zornesader,
Die Schrecken auf die Erde sprüht.
—*Wanderung im Gebirge: das Gewitter.*

Metaphors and similes taken from lightning are sometimes commonplace ("Blitz der Liebe," "Blitz der Leidenschaft," "Zornesblitz"), sometimes interesting; he says of Baader: "Die Blitze seines Geistes steigerten sich zu einem beständigen Wetterleuchten" (R., p 101). A vulture is called "athmender Blitz" (*Auf meinen ausgebalgten Geier*).

To conclude, we may say that Lenau's treatment of the sky intensifies our belief that he is more deeply stirred by the gloomy or elegiac side of nature than by its bright aspects; evening effects, moonlight, storms appeal to him more strongly than the serene beauty of morning or a blue sky. Yet the statement, often made, that he is blunt to these more cheerful phenomena is altogether incorrect.

A poet's interpretation of nature is the result of a process of selection; for there is an infinity of things, and the eye sees only what it is trained or cares to see. Thus the poet creates his own world by choosing and combining certain phenomena and by neglecting the rest. We have studied the character of the world which Lenau builds up for himself, and shall now proceed to investigate his flora and fauna, and thus try to appreciate how he peoples and how he decorates this world.

In studying Lenau's fauna one is struck with the fact that but few animals had any interest for him. It is safe to say that, on the whole, birds were more attractive to him than other animals; Schurz tells us (Sch., I, p. 15) that Lenau, even as a boy, loved birds and was fond of catching them. The references to birds in general are, on the whole, vague, though at times very poetical. In a letter (Sch., I, p. 135) he compares Mayer's poems with green birds which seem "wie ein singendes Blatt;" he writes to Sophie (L. and S., p. 105) that the words in his letters to her come "unüberlegt aufs Papier, wie ein Vogel aus dem Nest fliegt;" in *Waldlieder*, VIII he exclaims:

Wie in's dunkle Dickicht schweben
Vöglein nach dem Frühlingsstage,
Süss befriedigt, ohne Klage
Möcht' ich scheiden aus dem Leben.

Lenau loved the song of birds. What he particularly objected to in America was the absence of singing birds. In *Liebe und Vermählung* he speaks of "des Haines süsse Kehlen;" in *Don Juan: Don Juan und Marcello* the dying note of a bird in the evening adds to the "Stimmung" of the forest:

Wie reitet sich's durch einen Wald so traut,
Wenn nur die Wipfel noch von Sonne wissen,
Nur noch zuweilen eines Vogels Laut
Verhallt in ahnungsvollen Finsternissen.

Compare *Schilflieder*, IV. Similarly in *Faust: der See* the chattering of birds intensifies the grewsome atmosphere of the whole passage:

Seltsame Töne aus dem Schilfe dringen,
Und manchesmal das Schweigen unterbrechen.
Die Vögel dort von Wanderzügen sprechen
Im Traum und regen sehnsuchtsvoll die Schwingen.

Of all birds the nightingale was to him by far the most attractive, and his love for it was profound. According to Schurz (I, p. 21), Tokay, where Lenau lived as a youth, is famous for its nightingales. Hence we may forgive him for being disappointed at finding none in America (Sch., I, p. 198), although we cannot agree with his statement that there are no birds of song in the new continent (Sch., I, pp. 204-7). The genuineness of Lenau's love for the nightingale delightfully manifests itself in several of his letters: "Im hiesigen Schlossgarten sind viele Nachtigallen; ich belausche sie täglich" (Sch., I, p. 260); "Die Nachtigall ist ein profundes

Geschöpf, ein singendes Mysterium" (Sch., I, 369); "Ein Spaziergang im Schlossgarten, wo ein Heer von Nachtigallen gegen meinen alten Missmuth mit klingendem Spiel loszieht, pflegt mich des Abends zu erfrischen" (Sch., II, p. 113). In his earlier poems, and there only, he sometimes calls the nightingale Philomela: *e. g.*, in *In einer Sommernacht gesungen* (L. and S., p. 219), *Abendlied* (evidently an early production), *Glauben. Wissen. Handeln* (printed in 1830); also in *Die Heidelberger Ruine* (written in America), etc.; but the classical name does not even there imply merely a traditional interest in the great songster. In *Frühlingstod* the nightingale is called "spring's dearest child;" in *Die Zweifler* the songs of the nightingale ("schmerzlich süsse Klänge der Sängerin aus Eden") sound to the poet as if they would "den Tod sanft überreden, Mit ihrem Liede zaubervoll, Dass er den Lenz nicht rauben soll;" in *Die Heidelberger Ruine* the nightingale is supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers and to hear the souls of the departed dead which revisit their former abode. In *Maria und Wilhelm* the nightingale appears as the bird of virtue:

Im Garten ruft die Nachtigall,
Sie scheint in bangen Weisen
Zu klagen um des Mädchens Fall,
Die Unschuld süß zu preisen.

In *Vanitas* the ambitious are blamed for spurning "Blüthenduft und Nachtigallen;" in *Klara Hebert: der selige Abend* the nightingale is the bird of lovers and seems loudly to proclaim what they dare not tell one another; in *Faust: der Tanz*, when Faust dances with a peasant girl,

Da hebt den flötenden Wonneshall
Aus duftigen Büschen die Nachtigall,
Die heisser die Lust der Trunkenen schwellt,
Als wäre der Sänger vom Teufel bestellt.

In *Savonarola: die Pest*, III the "ungestörte Wonneliel" of the nightingale helps to intensify the atmosphere of an Italian night.

Next to the nightingale the lark has always been a favorite with bird-lovers. Lenau, whose ear was finely trained, would naturally revel in the lark's song of exultation, which, in contrast with the nightingale's sobbing and fluting, seems the expression of uncontrolled joy. He writes to Sophie (Sch., I, p. 378): "Vielleicht würden uns unsere frischen Gedanken umflattern wie lustig singende Alpenlerchen." In *Reise-Empfindung* he says:

Die Lerche sang und schwand dahin
Auf morgenfrohen Schwingen,
Dass mir der blaue Himmel schien
In's Thal herabzusinken.

In *Der Lenz* Lenau makes himself guilty of want of artistic tact in characterizing larks as "die Singraketen" of the spring; a similar figure occurs in *Liebesfeier*: "An ihren bunten Liedern klettern Die Lerchen selig in die Luft." In *Wanderung im*

Gebirge: die Lerche we read: "Die Lerche aus den Lüften streute Mir ihre Lieder auf den Weg," and in *Mischka an der Marosch*:

Horch, wie rauschen Mischka's helle Saiten
Unter diesen Halmen, die vor Zeiten
Bei dem Klang der Lerchenlieder
Auf dem Feld sich wiegten hin und wieder.

In *Theismus und Offenbarung* the lark (with its "Liederfest") is the symbol of Theism, the nightingale of Revelation. The description in this poem of the flight of the lark ("Vom Saatenfeld die Lerche zieht Froh himmelwärts mit ihrem Lied; Die Stolze meidet Busch und Baum") betrays direct observation (*cf.* Mayer, p. 77). The lark is not nearly so important in Lenau's works, as may be gathered from the passages quoted, as is the nightingale; he does not find as felicitous expressions to characterize its warble.

Besides the birds of song, the birds of gloom or horror have much charm for Lenau; a considerable number of references to vultures and ravens occur in his works. Schurz (I, p. 372) relates that Lenau kept in his room at Vienna a skull and a stuffed vulture; the whole poem *An meinen ausgeblägten Geier* is devoted to this creature. In this poem he says:

Du, todter Geier, stehst noch immer wild und edel,
Und neben dich gestellt hab' ich den bleichen Schädel.
Ich lasse dir nach ihm den Schnabel niederhangen,
Als hättest du gespeist das Fleisch von seinen Wangen.

The poet wishes he were with the vulture in ravines and imagines it pouncing down upon its prey, and then continues:

Der Geist, der heiss nach Blut hiess diesen Geier schmachten,
Es ist der starke Geist zugleich der Völkerschlachten.

Throughout these lines the vulture is associated with death and destruction. The same associations are found wherever vultures are mentioned in Lenau. In a letter (L. and S., p. 98) he urges Sophie not to let go her hold on him, and adds: "Aber ich werde Dich auch nicht locker fassen, darauf kannst Du Dich verlassen. Der Geier hat Dich in seinen Krallen, Du musst schon mit ihm fahren, denn lässt er Dich aus, so fallst Du Dich wund oder todt. Es ist kein Scherz mit einer solchen Fahrt zu treiben." In *In der Wüste* he compares life to a desert, and says:

Streut auch unser Fuss im Staube
Spuren aus von seinem Lauf,
Gleich, wie Geier nach dem Raube,
Kommt ein Sturm und frisst sie auf.

In *Aus* we read: "Ob jeder Freude seh' ich schweben Den Geier bald, der sie bedroht." In the grewsome poem entitled *Die Drei*, three young wounded horsemen are described as riding slowly:

Und lauernd auf den Todesritt
Ziehn durch die Luft drei Geier mit.

Sie theilen kreischend unter sich:
Den speisest du, den du, den ich.

In several passages in *Die Albigenser*, e. g., *Ein Schlachtfeld*, the vulture is the bird of death and carrion. Some metaphors and similes are interesting in this connection. In *Klara Hebert: die Botschaft* Richelieu is called "der Kirche grimmster Geier;" in *Savonarola: Vater und Sohn* Cæsar Borgia's smile is like a vulture:

Sein Lächeln, still und ungeheuer,
Zielt auf des Papstes wundes Herz;
Also umschwebt ein stiller Geier
Ein blutend Wild, voll Angst und Schmerz.

Several times vultures are mentioned to add intensity to a sad "Stimmung": "Dort sah ich einen Geier durch die Bäume Wie einen stillen Todgedanken fliegen" (*Der ewige Jude*); "Kein Vogelsang, kein Bach, kein Waldesschauern, Kein Klageton entfährt dem finstern Thale. . . . Dort fliegt mit leisem, sattem Flügelschlage Ein Geier seinem Felsenhorste zu" (*Marionetten*, I). Compare *Die Albigenser: ein Greis*: "Drüben dort ein Geier streicht, Hoch und still mit wildem Lauern." In *Savonarola: Tubal* a vulture adds to the grandeur of a rocky landscape: "Durch Felsen, bleich, gehöhlt, verwittert, Wo Geier nur und Stürme nahn, Braust dort ein Waldstrom."²⁵

Ravens have that in common with vultures that they suggest death, though perhaps not in so forceful a way: they seem rather the birds of sadness, whereas the vulture is the bird of horror. Lenau's profound tendency to melancholy would cause him to look upon ravens as interesting and suggestive. He writes to Emilie Reinbeck (R., p. 126): "Ich küsse Ihnen die Hand dafür . . . die . . . mir schon oft meine schwarzen Raben vom Haupte gescheucht hat" (where "Raben" means melancholy thoughts). To Sophie he writes (Sch., II, p. 199): "Die Leiden sind gesellig wie die Raben; sie kommen in schwarzen Schaaren." In *Scheiden* a raven adds to the melancholy of an autumn landscape; in *In der Schenke* and in *Die nächtliche Fahrt* ravens are associated with winter and with death ("Um die Heldenleichen dort Rauft der Schnee sich mit den Raben;" "Nur Schnee und Schnee ringsaus in alle Weiten . . . Singvögel sind geflohn von diesem Grabe, Den Schnabel in die Federn hüllt der Rabe").²⁶ In *Herbstlied* ravens are associated with autumn and decay:

²⁵ Several times "Stossvögel" and "Raubvögel" are mentioned in metaphors; like "Der Hölle Raubvogel, die Leidenschaft," or they add to the "Stimmung" of horror. "Der Falke" occurs here and there, but the passages are not worth recording. It is curious that eagles are not prominent in Lenau's works. A poet strongly appealed to by power and nobility would naturally be supposed often to refer to the king of birds. The few passages in which the eagle is mentioned are not important. In *Zuruf an*

meinen Geist he exhorts his genius to soar like an eagle; in *An die Melancholie* eagles are associated with lonely mountain-tops ("Felsenklüfte wo der Adler einsam hausst"). The following fine picture occurs in *Täuschung*. "Als wie ein schwarzer Aar, dess Flügel Feuer fingen, so schlägt die schwarze Nacht die feurvollen Schwingen."

²⁶ In *An eine holländische Landschaft* crows are mentioned in connection with autumn.

Ja, ja, ihr lauten Raben,
 Hoch in der kühlen Luft,
 's geht wieder an's Begraben,
 Ihr flattert um die Gruft.
 Die Wälder sind gestorben.

The owlet ("das Käuzlein") with its shrill note, like the vulture and the raven, is the bird of gloom and occasionally comes to mention as such: "Das Käuzlein traurig ruft in öder Felsenritze" (*Täuschung*); "Wenn das Käuzlein grelle Aufstöhnt in seiner Zelle" (*Am Sarge eines Schwermüthigen*). The owl is spoken of as deepening the atmosphere of gloom during a storm (in a letter, R., p. 83).

Lenau's love for migratory birds is closely connected with his love for the melancholy moods of nature. He several times introduces "Zugvögel" of different kinds as intensifying the autumnal or the sad atmosphere of a landscape. Sometimes such mention occurs merely for the sake of comparisons, *e. g.*: "Ich komme mir manchmal, auch gerade heute, vor, wie ein verirrter und verspäteter Zugvogel, der es versäumt hat, sich dem Winterzug seiner Brüder anzuschliessen, und dafür jetzt einsam herumflattert in einer herbstlichen Fremde" (L. and S., p. 114). In the following passages migratory birds help to deepen the autumnal character of the landscape:

Du klagst, dass bange Wehmuth dich beschleicht,
 Weil sich der Wald entlaubt,
 Und über deinem Haupt
 Dahin der Wanderzug der Vögel streicht.

—*Vorwurf.*

Du siehst am Felde schöne Schnitterinnen
 Im Abendrothe stehn . . .
 Zugvögel wandernd durch die Lüfte streichen.

—*Faust: die Reise.*

In *Savonarola: Weihnacht* Savonarola prophesies a time when souls will gather "zu vollbringen ihren Wanderflug . . . nach ew'gen Frühlingshainen" like "Zugvögel wenn sie empfinden in der Luft ein süß geheimes Offenbaren des Frühlings, der nach Süden ruft." In *Der Kranich* it is the cry of the crane that announces the advent of autumn, and in *Vision* that of the *Schneegans*. Among the other birds of passage the wild goose is especially mentioned to characterize an autumn "Stimmung":

Hörst du die Wildgans in den Lüften schnattern?
 Das kündet Frost, mein Freund, und trübe Zeit.

—*Robert und der Invalide.*

Horch! plötzlich in der Luft ein schnatterndes Geplauder:
 Wildgänse auf der Flucht vor winterlichem Schauder . . .

Der abgeriss'ne Ruf, womit Zugvögel schweben,
 Ist Aufschrei wirren Traums von einem ew'gen Leben.

—*Ein Herbstabend.*

Swallows are several times referred to, and the passages prove Lenau's fondness for them: "Ich fühle die Wiederkehr meiner Kraft und Heiterkeit. Das machen die Schwalben und Consorten" (Sch., II, p. 63); "Mir schwindelt, wenn ich an die Unruhe denke, mit der Sie vor Ihrer Abreise herumgeflattert sein mögen, wie eine Schwalbe vor einem Gewitter" (Sch., I, p. 371). In *Die Zweifler* at the destruction of the world the stars will fall "wie ein müdes Schwalbenvolk;" in *Klara Hebert: Blumengruss* "der Schwalben frühes Rufen" helps to characterize the morning, etc.

Besides these birds Lenau introduces the sea-gull (in *Drei Indianer* sea-gulls give "Stimmung" to the death-scene in which the heroic Indians are described as committing suicide; in *Die Rache* we read: "Die Möven taumeln trag und schlagen Die schlaffe Luft mit Unbehagen;" in *Faust: der Mord* "die Möven" and their "Geschrille" are associated with a storm); the heron (in *Savonarola* Mariano's thoughts are called "kecke Reiher"); the quail (in *Robert und der Invalide; Faust: die Reise*); the wood-grouse, "Auerhahn" (in *Don Juan: die Balze* Don Juan and Marcello ride through a forest where the wood-grouse cries; the description gives an element of sensuousness to the whole scene); the screech-owl, "Leichenhuhn" (in *Savonarola: Mariano*); the redbreast (cf. L. and S., p. 17); the finch (*Das Lied vom armen Finken*); the sparrow (Sch., I, p. 132). Lenau rarely speaks of magic birds. In a letter (L. and S., p. 228) he calls his soul a "Wundervogel" (cf. Sch., I, p. 159; *Faust: der Besuch*).

Among animals other than birds the stag seems especially to have attracted Lenau's attention. He calls it "das Wild" or the "Hirsch." As he was fond of hunting, he often speaks of it in connection with figures borrowed from the chase: "Wie ein angeschossenes Wild durchirr' ich den Wald des Lebens; je stärker mein Lauf desto heftiger bluten meine Wunden" (L. and S., p. 238). He calls Sophie "das köstliche Wild, nach dem ich jage" (L. and S., p. 132); in *Traurige Wege* "das scheue Wild" gives "Stimmung" to the forest. In *Waldlieder*, II a fleeing deer characterizes the approach of a storm: "Das Wild mit banger Hast ist in's Gebüsch verkrochen." Compare:

Wenn ich jage, gleich' ich selbst dem Wild
Ueberall gejagt von Deinem Bild.

—*Mischka an der Marosh*, III.

. . . . ein Wild zur Abendstunde
Sachte auf den freien Anger schreitend,
Freundlich aus dem Wald den Tag begleitend.

—*Ibid.*, I.

In *Don Juan: Nacht* love is called "das scheue Wild aus Edens Wald." Instead of "Wild," "Hirsch" occurs several times. In *Schilflieder*, V the "Stimmung" is characterized by the mention of stags: "Hirsche wandeln dort am Hügel, Blicken in die Nacht empor." In *Anna*, III a stag is happily called "der Stolz der Schluchten," and as he lies dead he is described as looking "als hätt' er auf den Fluchten mitge-

rissen ein Stück Wald." In *Johannes Ziska*, V grief is compared with a stag: "Tiefer stürzt der Schmerz beim Anruf, Gleich dem Hirsche, dem erschrocknen, In die Wildniss." In *Don Juan: Don Juan und Marcello* roaring stags ("röhrende Hirsche") add to the atmosphere of sensuality which is suggested by Don Juan's speech. Several times "das Reh" occurs; cf. *Zuflucht; Savonarola: die Novizen*. One might suppose that so great a lover of the Alps as Lenau would often speak of the chamois, the most graceful animal in high mountains; yet, though he seems to have been fond of it (R., p. 83), he speaks of it in his poetry only occasionally; in *Dein Bild* we read:

Vom Felsen stürzt die Gemse dort,
Enteilet mit den Winden;
So sprang von mir die Freude fort,
Und ist nicht mehr zu finden.

In *Faust: Morgengang* the highest tops of the mountains are characterized as "Klippen . . . wohin verzweifelnd nur die Gemse springt." Antelopes and gazelles are rarely mentioned.

The horse is the animal of war; its grace and swiftness have inspired poets since the days of antiquity. Lenau, too, finds happy words to describe it, but does so less often than one might anticipate. In *Die nächtliche Fahrt* he calls three stallions "rasch wie Nordens Lüfte;" in *Faust: der Sturm* clouds are compared to steeds. Some thirty more references to horses are scattered throughout his works, but hardly any are conspicuous for originality; cf., however, *Die Haideschenke, Der Urwald*, and a few passages in *Die Albigenser*.

Lenau shows no particular predilection for any other animals, although many more occur in his works. Some references to dogs are characteristic: "Meine Hypochondrie regt sich wieder; ich muss bald reisen. Hinter dem Eilwagen wird dieser Hund zurückbleiben" (Sch., I, p. 319). In *Die Albigenser: Alfar* "der Zweifel" is compared to a watchful dog. The cat occurs in a metaphor in *Die Albigenser: der Traum*, where heresy is called "die Höllenkatz." References to cattle are sometimes felicitous: "Die milchbeladene Herde wiegt sich in die trauten Ställe" (*Abendheimkehr*); "Abendbesonnte Herde freut sich brüllend der tuppigen Erde" (*Der Unhold*). In *Faust: Abendgang* sheep help to characterize an evening "Stimmung": "Es glüht im Abendscheine purpurhell Der Wald . . . Wie freudesinnend steht die Lämmerherde, Vergessend nun das frische Alpenkraut." Goats, hogs, etc., are occasionally mentioned, but the passages need not here be reproduced. Certain wild animals are more interesting to Lenau than most domestic animals. So the tiger fascinates him on account of its fierceness. To impress the reader with the terror of a certain battle, Lenau uses the following remarkable expression: "Wenn Tiger nach Beziers herzögen lüstern . . . Sie würden müssig hier, bewundernd gaffen" (*Die Albigenser: Beziers*). Compare also the following: "Einbrechen jetzt die Mordgesellen, Wie auf den Raub ein Tigerhauf" (*Savonarola: die Verhaftung*); "Aus dir [*i. e.*, the Bible]

die Menschen eine Bosheit holen Wie nicht die Tiger in der Wüste kennen " (*Die Albigenser: der Besuch*);

Und mit kampferhöttem Durste
Stürzen an den Quell die Sieger,
Und sie trinken gierig, hastig,
Wie das Blut der heisse Tiger.

—*Johannes Ziska, VII.*

Lions find mention more rarely, and then in no striking way. The fierceness of the hyena appeals to Lenau as does that of the tiger: in a flood a wave is like a hyena (*Prolog*); Faust (*Der Traum*) compares his dreams with hyenas. The sufferings of the wolf in winter seem to make him interesting to Lenau, and his howls convey an idea of terror:

Dort heult im tiefen Waldesraum
Ein Wolf; wie's Kind aufweckt die Mutter
Schreit er die Nacht aus ihrem Traum,
Und heischt von ihr sein blutig Futter.

—*Winternacht.*

Wenn Wolf im Eise suchen
Ihr Leben und verfluchen.

—*Am Sarge eines Schwermüthigen.*

The note of the bullfrog ("Unke") adds to the night a grewsome element which pleases Lenau. The sad song which runs through all nature "tönt im Ruf der Unken" (*Am Sarge eines Schwermüthigen*); in *Die Albigenser: ein Schlachtfeld* we read: "das Unkenlied des Zweifels." Snakes are not infrequently mentioned, and then as symbolical of things dangerous or disgusting, e. g., "Die Schlange Cholera" (*Auf meinen ausgebligten Geier*). Backbiting is compared to a snake in *Die medisirenden Damen*, etc. Fish are rarely mentioned; only the shark occasionally. In a letter (Sch., I, p. 161) Lenau speaks of bats in characteristic fashion: "Ich trage ein ganzes Nest voll junger Gespenster in mir herum; wenn das Nest einmal ausfliegt und um mich herum-schwärmt, wie im Frühling die erwachten Fledermäuse . . . das ist eine kuriose Geschichte." Rats are to him symbolical of doubt:

Das heilige Tau des Glaubens ist zerriessen . . .
Vom Nagethier, dem Zweifel, überwunden,
Vom Zahn der Höllenratte abgebissen.

—*Die Albigenser: der Traum.*

The elephant, the fox, the squirrel, the martin, the vampire, the mole, the hare, the ape, the bear, the dragon, the ermine, and the salamander occur, but in speaking of them Lenau never shows originality or knowledge derived from direct observation. Glow-worms ("Leuchtkäfer," "Glühwürmer") are several times introduced to give a "Stimmung;" for instance, in *Stimme des Windes*:

In Schlummer ist der dunkle Wald gesunken . . .
Leuchtkäfer nur, wie stille Traumefunken
Den Schlaf durchgaukelnd, schimmern in den Zweigen;

Leuchtkäfer nur, die hin und wieder glimmen,
Bedämmern ihm die Pfade manchesmal.

—*Faust: der nächtliche Zug.*

The cricket ("die Cicade," "das Heimchen") attracts Lenau on account of its monotonous note. In *Mischka an der Marosch*, III the chirping of the cricket gives atmosphere to a "Liebesnacht." Worms are associated with death, and hence occasionally mentioned; cf. *Savonarola* and *Die Albigenser*. In a letter (Sch., II, p. 70) we hear of "Wurm des Zweifels." Memories are compared with gnats in *Glauben. Wissen. Handeln*; in *Faust: Görg* we read of "Sorgenmücken;" in *Savonarola: Tubal* thoughts of death are called "schwarze Mücken." Butterflies, the "flowers of the air," have less attraction for Lenau than for many other poets. Occasionally occur references to bees, dragon-flies, beetles, caterpillars, spiders, flies, and even infusoria, but nothing of importance can be recorded.

We may say, then, that Lenau sees the animal world altogether with the eye of the artist, and not at all with that of the agriculturist, as, for instance, Bismarck does in his letters. Domestic animals interest him very little, but his love for singing birds is genuine, and vultures and ravens attract him because of their associations; the stag and the horse delight him because of their grace, and any other animal, whether bird, mammal, reptile, or insect, which for any reason intensifies a sad or a picturesque "Stimmung" in nature, is sure to be introduced, and generally with considerable artistic skill. Yet we must admit that Lenau rarely betrays intimate knowledge of the habits or of the appearance of animals.

Many features of Lenau's flora correspond to his fauna. We hear more of flowers and blossoms than of trees in Lenau's works. In a letter (Sch., I, p. 285) he says: "Pfu! der stumpfen Naturen, die von einer Blume nicht ergriffen werden können," and continues: "Eine schöne Blume ist ein schönes Individuum, das uns begrüsst, blüht, schwindet und nie wiederkommt." Again (L. and S., p. 54) he writes: "Ich bin ihrer [i. e., der Blumen] jetzt mehr empfänglich als jemals. Du malst sie ja." In *Im Vorfrühling* he says:

Blumen! ob ihr nicht die Freuden seid,
Die dem Todten hätten kommen sollen?
Die, gehüllt in euer liches Kleid,
Doch auf seinem Grabe blühen wollen?

We find happy characterizations of flowers; e. g., in *Savonarola: der Eintritt ins Kloster*, the prior is tending his flowers when Savonarola comes and says:

Ob sie nicht in Gelübden leben?—
Sind nicht die Blumen keusch und rein?
Der Armuth hold und treu ergeben,
Vergnügt bei Thau und Sonnenschein?
Gehorsam springen sie vom Bette (*sic*),
Wenn sie die Frühlingshora ruft,
Und eilen in die grosse Mette,
Zu bringen ihren Opferduft.

In *Savonarola: sein Tod* the greatest compliment Lenau can pay Savonarola is to call his morals "pure as flowers": "Die blumenhafte Sittenreinheit auf deinem Antlitz." Flowers are often used symbolically. In *In der Krankheit* they are symbolical of the joys of life:

Ueber trübe, heitre Stellen
Schreitet's [i. e., das Leben] unaufhaltsam hin,
Wie des Meeres rasche Wellen
Blum' und Dorn vorüberziehn.

The perfumes of flowers delighted Lenau: "Tiefathmend tranken wir die Blumen-seelen" (*Erinnerung*); "Verhaucht, beglückte Blumen, eure Düfte" (*Faust: Maria*); cf. especially R., p. 22. Lenau seems to have been comparatively indifferent to the colors of flowers; compare, however, *Savonarola: die Tortur*: "Die Blüthen strahlen, dunkeln, strahlen, Es ist ein athmend Farbenglühn." "Vivifications" of flowers are not frequent and not always artistic: in *Savonarola: die Tortur* the flowers in Savonarola's room are made to "jauchzen laut." The delicate beauty of blossoms was a source of great pleasure to Lenau, and although one can hardly distinguish between flowers and blossoms, it may be better to speak separately of his treatment of blossoms, as he so frequently refers to them. In a letter (R., 194) he writes enthusiastically of his delight at seeing fruit-trees in bloom: "Viele der Obstbäume an der Strasse fand ich in vollem Festschmuck des Frühlings. Die Luft war völlig ruhig und still, um ja keiner Blüte weh zu thun." In *Theismus und Offenbarung* we find a fine description of a mass of blossoms:

Der Blüthen schönen Frühlingstraum,
Durch deren säuselndes Gewimmel
Hereinblickt der gebrochne Himmel.

Blossoms are emblems of purity. When Faust has committed murder, he is "von jeder Blüthe kalt verstossen" (*Faust: Abendgang*). Lenau borrows many figures from blossoms. In a letter (L. and S., p. 246) he says: "Mein Gemüth treibt manche Blüthe seliger Empfindung." Again (Sch., I, p. 135) he calls Mayer's poems "süsse Blüthenflocken aus einer andern Welt." We further read of "Blüthentag," "Blüthe der Schönheit," etc." In *Der Jüngling* (L. and S., p. 233) blossoms felicitously constitute the background for a youth expectantly looking into life: "Der Jüngling sitzt in einem Blüthengarten Und sieht mit Lust des Lebens Morgenrot." The fragrance of blossoms is sometimes referred to, as, for example, in *Stimme des Windes*. Compare *Neid der Sehnsucht*: "Sprachlos ringen sich Wonnedüfte aus der Blüthen Busen." Some remarkable "vivifications" of blossoms are found:

Blüthen seh' ich niederschauern . . .
Mich dünkt, ihr frohes Drängen
Ist der Sehnsucht Weiterziehn,

*References to "Keime," "Sprossen," and "Knospen" are very rare.

Mit den Blüthen, die dahin,
Um so bald' sich zu mengen.
—*Die Heidelberger Ruine.*

Die jungen Blüthen zittern leise
Und freudig nieder in den Staub;
Als das Gefolge deiner Reise
Sind gerne sie des Todes Raub.
—*An Luise.*

Dicht und leise
Ein Heer von Blüthen niedersank,
Auf Stirn und Hand dem frommen Greise
Zu küssen ihren stillen Dank.
—*Savonarola: Eintritt ins Kloster.*

Lenau, like most poets, prefers the rose to all other flowers. We know from Schurz (I, p. 121) that Tokay was rich in roses. Of course, roses are associated with spring, although not as often as one might expect: in *Frühlings Tod* roses are called "the heartblood of the spring;" in *Liebesfeier* we find: "Der Lenz hat Rosen angezündet An Leuchtern von Smaragd im Dom." Compare *In der Schenke, Die schöne Sennin*, II, etc. Again they are associated with love. He writes (L. and S., p. 53): "Zwei Liebende sollten nie so weit getrennt sein, dass sie sich nicht eine Rose frisch und blühend bringen können." Compare *An die Entfernte*. The fragrance of the rose is sometimes spoken of. In *Mein Türkenkopf* Lenau speaks of "der süsse Hauch der aufgeblüthen Rose;" in *Albigenser: Fulco* occurs: "Lüfte taumeln berauscht von einem Rosenbeete." Lenau frequently borrows figures from roses: "die Rose der Erinnerung;" scars are called "Ehrenröslein;" "der Wonnen Rosenschein," "die Freuderose," etc.; a child smiles in its sleep as a rose smiles through evening mists (*Am Bette eines Kindes*); the red on the autumn leaves and on a dying man's cheek is called "Rosen . . . wobei kein Lied mehr flötet" (*Herbstgefühl*). Young fellows toss girls at a dance "wie ein Rosenblatt der Orkan" (*Die Bauern am Tissastrande*). In *Anna*, IV the heroine receives admiration "wie eine Rose ihren Thau." Some pretty "vivifications" of roses should here be quoted. When he left Germany a "Blüthenzweig" bent down to him and gave him a rose by way of a farewell greeting (*Die Rose der Erinnerung*). When Adam left Paradise "Sandten Rosen ihm erbarmungslind Duftend ihre süssen Scheideküsse" (*Nie zurück*). Quite frequently Lenau expresses light-effects in terms of roses:

Des Waldes Riesen
Heben höher sich in die Lüfte, um noch
Mit des Abends flüchtigen Rosen sich ihr
Haupt zu bekränzen.
—*Abendbilder.*

Wie da im rothen Morgenstrahl . . .
Berg und Thal mit Rosen sich bekränzen . . .

Die Sonne sinkt
 Und aus des Abends Rosen
 Seh' ich —*Dein Bild.*
 Auf dem Teich
 Weilt des Mondes holder Glanz,
 Flechtend seine bleichen Rosen
 In des Schilfes grünen Kranz.
 —*Schilflieder, V.*
 Leichte Abendwölkchen schweben
 Hin im sanften Mondenglanz,
 Und aus bleichen Rosen weben
 Sie dem todtten Tag den Kranz.
 —*Vergangenheit.*

All flowers except the rose are much neglected. The following occur: the myrtle (*Klara Hebert: der Ring; Anna, III*); the Alpine rose (*Der Steyrertanz*); *primula veris*; the lily (a girl is called "eine Lilie sturmgebrochen" in *Klara Hebert: der alte Marko*); the violet ("das sanfte Veilchen" in *Der Lenz; cf. Frühlingsgrüsse*); the heath flower ("Haideblume"); the water lily ("sanft gewiegte Wasserblumen sprossen," *Faust: der See*); the lilac (R., p. 22); and thistles ("Aus Ihren Distel- und Stachelbriefen," Sch., II, p. 32). Thistles give "Stimmung" in *An meine Guitarre*: "Durch blonde Disteln sausst der Wind;" *cf. Stimme des Regens*. Thorns are introduced as symbols of grief. Grass occurs ("das frisch gemähte Gras lag schmiegsam und duftend über den hingemähten Menschen einer alten und bessern Zeit," Sch., II, p. 31); also reeds and ivy. Fruit is mentioned here and there: "Die Erntefrucht der Liebe" (Sch., I, p. 38); "Natur kommt mit Erfrischungsfrüchten etwas post festum angezogen" (*Faust: die Lektion*). Among the different kinds of fruit occur peaches, oranges, figs, etc., but they are never spoken of in a fashion worth recording. Here and there Lenau borrows his figures from crops: "Was frommt die ungewisse Saat der Wissenschaft?" (*Faust: der Jugendfreund*).

Nothing lends more character to a landscape than trees. They have their individualities like men, as distinct and almost as interesting. There is an immense range between the fluffy grace of the birch or the pleasing melancholy of the willow, and the majestic tallness of the elm or the gnarled strength of the oak. The poet of trees has, to my knowledge, not yet arisen—one to whom trees are living things and who can interpret their personalities with poetic adequacy. Lenau sees trees, but with an untrained eye; they mean little to him. He rarely speaks of them in his letters. Few lines of his poetry show that he understood their beauty. In the following passage fondness for them is expressed:

Endlich winkte das ersehnte Land,
 Jubelnd sprang ich an den theuern Strand,
 Und als wiedergrüne Jugendträume
 Grüssten mich die heimathlichen Bäume.
 —*Wandel der Sehnsucht.*
 81

Faust upbraids trees for not revealing the "Weltgeheimniss": "Ihr kommt, das Wachsthum in die Luft zu strecken, Mit eurem stillen Blick mein Herz zu necken." In *Marionetten*, III the dropping of rain from branches is strikingly described as follows: "Nach dem Gewitter tropft es noch herab wie weinendes Erinnern von den Zweigen." Figures are neither frequent nor striking; cf. *Erinnerung*: "Mein Herz durchziehen bange Wehmuthschauer Wie dein Gezweig des Herbstes kühler Hauch." Trees are sometimes associated with love: "Den schönsten Baum der Gegend will ich mir aussuchen, um Ihre lieben Briefe darunter zu lesen" (Sch., II, p. 160); compare *Baum der Erinnerung*; also *Faust: der See*: "Dort ragt der Baum der eure Küsse überraschte." "Vivifications" of trees are not infrequent—some happy, some excessive:

Bäume, die dem Wald entsprungen,
Sehnend nach dem Hüttlein sich,
Halten Dach und Wald umschlungen
Mit den Zweigen inniglich.
—*Nach Säden.*

Und der Baum im Abendwind
Lässt sein Laub zu Boden wallen,
Wie ein schlafgriffnes Kind
Lässt sein buntes Spielzeug fallen.
—*Die Wurmlinger Kapelle.*

Nicht ein Blatt am Strande wagt zu rauschen,
Wie betroffen stehn die Bäume, lauschen,
Ob kein Lüftchen, keine Welle wacht.
—*Sturmesmythe.*

Der Mensch auf halbem Weg entschlief
Im Schatten eines alten Baumes . . .
Das Laub des Baumes rauschte mild,
Und bat den Schlaf: O bleibe lang!
—*Zweifel und Ruhe.*

Trees suggest sad thoughts: in *Baum der Erinnerung* a tree reminds him of the transitoriness of things. Lenau's range of acquaintance with trees is slight. The oak occurs a few times: he hopes to find his power of song again by going "in's Dunkel jener Eichen" (*An meine Guitarre*); when Faust (*Faust: die Verschreibung*) is steeped in sad thoughts, "Bedenklich schütteln über ihm die Häupter Die alten Eichen in verschwiegener Runde." The pine is introduced a few times; cf. *Winternacht*: "Fichten, Die sehnsuchtsvoll zum Tod geneigt, Den Zweig zurück zur Erde richten." "Wild verwachsne dunkle Fichten" serve as a background for unhappy love in *Einsamkeit*. The fir tree finds scanty mention: in *Der ewige Jude* Ahasver's eyebrows are called "Föhrenbüschel;" in *Die nächtliche Fahrt* firs help to characterize a winter landscape; in *An Seneca* we read:

Der laute Sturmwind kämpft mit dem Föhrenwald;
 Der Felsensohn trotz seiner Gewalt: nun stürzt
 Zornschnaubend sich der Rückgeworfne
 In das Getümmel des Wogenkampfes.

The somber majesty of the fir ("Tanne") seems to have made but a slight impression upon our poet. Similarly the pine ("Kiefer") is hardly ever referred to. The graceful willow, on the other hand, more often attracted his attention. In *Schilfflieder*, I willows create a "Stimmung":

Niederhangen hier die Weiden
 In den Teich so still, so tief . . .
 Traurig säuseln hier die Weiden.

Cf. Faust: der See. A characteristic "vivification" occurs in *Ein Herbstabend*: "Die Weid' am Ufer steht, die weichen Aeste ringend." These passages prove that the element of melancholy, which, along with grace, distinguishes the willow, is what most impressed itself upon him; hence, the weeping-willow, one might suppose, would find an important place in his works; yet it hardly ever occurs; *cf.*, however, *Klara Hebert: der selige Abend*. The birch, conspicuous as it is for Corinthian grace, might have found a happy interpreter in Lenau, but he seems indifferent to it; yet in *Reise-Empfindung* the drooping delicacy of its boughs is poetically described:

Ich sah in bleicher Silbertracht
 Die Birkenstämme prangen,
 Als wäre dran aus heller Nacht
 Das Mondlicht blieben hangen.

The alder, too, almost entirely escaped Lenau's notice. It is less surprising that the poplar, stiff and stately, should not appeal to a poet so sensitive to beauty; the only reference to it is entirely uninteresting (*Die Göttin des Glücks*). Lenau very rarely introduces exotic trees; yet the cypress occurs in *Glauben. Wissen. Handeln*, here associated with death. In *Faust: der Maler* "Cypressenhaine" form a part of the background for beautiful Maria. Other references are commonplace. Orange trees are rarely mentioned; in a letter (L. and S., p. 105) he says of his inner life: "Da drinnen . . . sind . . . ganz frische, duftende Orangenwälder." Palm trees are spoken of in *Der Maskenball*. Occasionally Lenau borrows figures from shrubs; in a letter (L. and S., p. 71) he says that his life seems to him "als ein dunkler Knäuel, den ich immer weiter stiess, bis er wo an einem Strauche hangen blieb;" in *Zuruf* he speaks of the "Strauchgewirr von Glauben, Recht und Sitte."

Leaves have considerable interest for Lenau. He does not speak of them frequently, nor does he exhibit an intimate knowledge of their appearance, but several times he refers to them with some originality. In a letter (Sch., I, p. 132) decaying leaves are described as follows: "Wenn Sie aber . . . die welken Blätter, diese säuselnden Elegien des Herbsts, fallen sehen, so denken Sie mein." Lenau's ear

must have been extremely fine, for the following passage from a letter dated September 20, 1843 (R., p. 179), betrays altogether exceptional keenness: "Als ich neulich dem Rauschen der Blätter zuhorchte, wollt' es mich bedünken, als rausche der Wald im Herbst ganz anders denn im Frühling; viel rauher und härter. Die Blätter sind dann nicht mehr so weich und beweglich wie jene des Frühlings, die Aeste starrer, die Lüfte schärfer." Probably Lenau acquired this extreme sensitiveness only late in life; certainly this passage is found in one of his last letters. Lenau appreciated the coolness of foliage: "Uns übergoss . . . die Blatternacht mit ihrem Labekuss" (*In das Stammbuch einer Künstlerin*; cf. "in geheimer Laubesnacht" in *Frühlingsblick*). Figures borrowed from leaves occur: in *Das dürre Blatt* a dry leaf is called "des Todes milde Kunde, dass jedes Leiden findet Ruh;" "Der Glaube an der Seele Dauer entfiel ihm wie ein welkes Blatt" (*Savonarola: die Antwort*). "Vivifications" are found, of which the following is significant: "Die entfärbten Blätter fallen Still zu Grund, vor Altersschwäche" (*Auf eine holländische Landschaft*). Attention should be called to the frequency with which Lenau speaks of decaying or drooping leaves; it is evidently not the lush leaf as a thing of beauty or as a sign of exuberance or fertility which impressed him, but rather the withered or withering leaf as a symptom of decay or as an element of melancholy. This fact comes to the surface particularly in *Waldkapelle*, where we read: "Mitleidig rauscht ihr ihm . . . Den Trost: Vergänglichkeit! ihr welken Blätter!" Lenau sometimes speaks of moss. In *Waldlieder*, VII he says: "Des dichten Moores Sanft nachgiebige Schwellung ist so ruhig;" in *Waldlieder*, V Merlin is said to hear how "im Kelch der feinsten Moose tönt das ewige Gedicht." He writes of Mendelssohn's overture to *Melusine*: "Die linke Hand, der volle Bass, streute weiches Moos" (L. and S., p. 78).

To summarize: the vegetable kingdom plays a less important part in Lenau's works than the animal kingdom. No such fine characterizations of flowers occur as, for instance, in Goethe's *Frühling übers Jahr*: "Primeln stolziren so naseweis, schalkhafte Veilchen, versteckt mit Fleiss;" or in his *Das Blümlein Wunderschön*, in which the pink says of itself: "Im schönen Kreis der Blätter Drang, Und Wohlgeruch das Leben lang, Und alle tausend Farben;" or in Shelley's *Sensitive Plant*:

And the Naiad-like lily of the vale,
Whom youth makes so fair and passion so pale,
That the light of its tremulous bells is seen,
Through their pavilions of tender green . . .
And the rose like a nymph to the bath addressed,
Which unfolded the depths of her glowing breast . . .
And the wand-like lily which lifted up
As a maenad its moonlight-colored cup.

Nor do we find an adequate appreciation of the range and character of trees; nor, again, of the delicate beauty of the tracery of leafless branches in winter; nor, lastly, an ability to notice leaves except *en masse*, no faint conception even of the range of

character in them. On the other hand, we must admit his evident love for many objects of the vegetable world, and an admirable insight into some of the elements which give "Stimmung" to the landscape. Here as elsewhere Lenau shows the remarkable gift of casting an indefinable charm over things by finding a happy word.

The poet's attitude toward the four seasons is often important for a knowledge of his artistic personality. The color of his individuality is subtly reflected by his preference for one or the other. Of the four seasons, spring has always been a special delight to poets, particularly in Germany, where spring means much more than with us. Throughout the "Volkslied," and by its direct or indirect influence throughout German lyric poetry, it is the object of poetic enthusiasm. Who does not remember that burst of joy at the beauty of spring in Goethe's *Mailed*: "Wie herrlich leuchtet mir die Natur . . . es dringen Blüten Aus jedem Zweig Und tausend Stimmen Aus dem Gesträuch," etc. Lenau, like all his brethren in Apollo, is very sensitive to "Spring's voluptuous pantings, when she breathes her first sweet kisses." He writes to Kleyle in 1826: "Doch es naht der Frühling und bringt Blumen" (L. and S., p. 229); and to Schurz in 1834: "Wir haben ein herrliches Frühlingswetter . . . O der Frühling!" (Sch., I, p. 260); to Sophie in 1835: "Wenn nur der Frühling schon da wäre" (Sch., I, p. 299); again to Sophie in 1840: "Bei aller Liebe hatte doch nichts, selbst der Frühling dieselbe Frische wie bei Dir;" and to the same in 1844: "Die Blüten kommen und ich sehne mich nach einem stillen Umgang mit der Natur" (Sch., II, p. 148). Not quite a week later he tells Emilie Reinbeck how on a journey he gave himself up to "dem ungetrübten Genusse der aufblühenden Natur" (R., p. 194). Lenau regretted not having seen spring in America (cf. the poem *Herbst*, and Sch., I, p. 212); he probably would have been much disappointed, as with us winter leaps into summer.

In his poetry several striking proofs of his love for spring are found. In *An einen Jugendfreund* death is described as the condition in which we cannot see spring. Similarly in *Der Gefangene*, to impress the reader with the sadness of the prisoner's life, the poet tells us that he cannot enjoy spring; and in *Der Schiffsjunge*, II sea-nymphs are conceived of as longing "nach des Erdenfrühlings heiterm Glanz." In *An den Frühling* all nature is represented as yearning for spring: "Die Bäume . . . strecken nach dir die Arme stumm." In *Frühling* we read: "O Frühling! trunken bin ich dein! O Frühling! ewig bist du mein!" In *Albigenser: das Interdikt* "Blüthenhauch in Frühlingsnacht" is spoken of as appealing to all men. Lenau's love for spring appears particularly in *Don Juan: die Balze*; Don Juan exclaims: "Vertausendfachen möcht' ich meine Brust Für all' die Fülle dieser Frühlingslüfte." In *Don Juan: erleuchteter Saal*: "Wie lieblich ist das erste Grün der Blätter, Der erste Duft und Sang im Frühlingswetter." Lenau not only loved spring, but he had a happy individual way of characterizing it. He writes to Schurz in 1844 (Sch., II, p. 152) that winter appears to him like "die schlechte Subjectivität der Erde . . . im Frühling aber thut sie Busse und die thauenden Ströme sind

ihre Büsserthränen, die ihr das Angesicht baden. Daher vielleicht der Zug so süß und geheimnißvoller Wehmuth, der durch alle Freuden des Lenzes duftet und klingt." The whole poem *Der Lenz* is a hymn to spring:

Da kommt der Lenz, der schöne Junge,
Den Alles lieben muss,
Herein mit einem Freudensprunge
Und lächelt seinen Gruss

Froh lächelt seine Mutter Erde
Nach ihrem langen Harm;
Sie schlingt mit jubelnder Geberde
Das Söhnlein in den Arm.

Compare also in this connection:

Der Lenz hat Rosen angezündet
An Leuchtern von Smaragd im Dom,
Und jede Seele schwillt und mündet
Hinüber in den Opferstrom.
—*Liebesfeier*.

Selig lauscht der grüne Baum,
Und er taucht mit allen Zweigen
In den schönen Frühlingstraum,
In den vollen Lebensreigen

In geheimer Laubesnacht
Wird des Vogels Herz getroffen.
—*Frühlingsblick*.

Frühlingskinder im bunten Gedränge,
Flatternde Blüthen, duftende Hauche,
Schmachtende, jubelnde Liebesgesänge,
Stürzen ans Herz mir aus jedem Strauche.
—*Frühlingsgedränge*.

Die warme Luft, der Sonnenstrahl
Erquickt mein Herz, erfüllt das Thal.
O Gott! wie deine Schritte tönen!
In tiefer Lust die Wälder stöhnen.
—*Frühling*.

Compare, too, *Der Gefangene*. In *Johannes Ziska*, II spring is called the "schönster Held auf Erden;" in *Prolog*, "die Zeit wo hell vom Liebesfest die Wälder klingen." In *Faust: der nächtliche Zug* the atmosphere of a spring night is thus rendered:

Tiefnacht; doch weht ein süßes Frühlingsbängen
Im Wald, ein warmes, seelenvolles Rauschen.
Die blüthentrunknen Lüfte schwinden, schwellen,
Und hörbar rieseln alle Lebensquellen.

In the scene in the same work entitled *Die Reise* Mephisto describes as follows the spring landscape on the magic tapestry of Faust's cabin:

Dann schweigt das Meer, du hörst allein die Weste
Melodisch säuseln durch die grünen Aeste,
Du bist umwürtzt von süßem Waldesduft,
Du hörst die Nachtigall, die ferne ruft.

An Italian spring night is described in *Savonarola: die Pest*, III. The effect of spring on a sensitive mind is excellently reproduced in *Don Juan: die Balze*:

Wie tief der Wald den frühen Lenz empfindet,
Wie sich um jeden Ast die Freude windet!
Ein süßer Duft durchströmt die laue Nacht,
Mein Herz ist warm und selig angefaßt. . . .
Von Würzhauch überströmen Berg' und Klüfte,
Tief wird die Welt der Liebe sich bewusst;
Vertausendfachen möcht' ich meine Brust
Für all' die Fülle dieser Frühlingslüfte.

It is natural that one so fond of spring should derive many figures of speech from it. Lenau writes to his sister (Sch., I, p. 254): "Liebe Schwester, wenn ich an Dich denke, so weht mich mein verlorener Frühling an;" to Sophie (L. and S., p. 169): "O süßes Herz! bei Dir wird es trotz meiner Jahre wieder Frühling in allen meinen Adern" (*cf. ibid.*, p. 173); in *Theismus und Offenbarung* we hear of "der Liebe Frühlings-Offenbarung;" Savonarola (*Sein Tod*) exclaims:

Wenn meine Asche treibt der Wind,
So denkt, dass dies nur Blütenflocken
Vom schönen Frühling Gottes sind.

Lenau, like all poets, associates spring with love. At that time "Die Liebe ist in vollem Zug" (*Frühling*). One poem is entitled *Liebesfrühling*. Compare also:

Durch den Wald, den dunkeln, geht
Holde Frühlingsmorgenstunde,
Durch den Wald vom Himmel weht
Eine leise Liebeskunde.

—*Frühlingsblick*.

Frühlingskinder im bunten Gedränge
Schmachtende, jubelnde Liebesgesänge
Stürzen ans Herz mir aus jedem Strauche.

—*Frühlingsgedränge*.

It is further very natural to associate spring with youth; "primavera, giuventù dell' anno; giuventù, primavera della vita." In *Ahasver, der ewige Jude*, the peasants place a bier with the dead body of a youth

an die Linde,
 Als sollt' ihn einmal noch der Lenz begrüßen,
 Der schon als Jüngling hat hinsterven müssen.

Schöner Jüngling, dir am Grabe schallen
 Ehrend die Kanonen ihr Geschmetter,
 Wie im Walde sommerschwüle Wetter
 Auf den toten Frühling niederhallen!

—*Bestattung.*

Du Jungfrau hold! zu deinem Schrein
 Drängt sich, dich einmal noch zu küssen,
 Dein Herzensfreund, der Frühling ein.

—*An Luise.*

In *Am Grabe Höltys* spring is called Höltz's friend: "Klagend irrt er im Haine dich zu finden," and it is supposed to embrace Höltz's grave exclaiming: "Mein Sänger todt." In *Der Salzburger Kirchhof* spring suggests immortality: "Hier singt der Frühling Auferstehungslieder." Sometimes spring is introduced by way of contrast or of background. In *Der Gefangene* the glories of nature are mentioned in detail ("Die Blume blüht, der bunte Falter senket auf sie die Flügel hin, die wonnemüden; Mit Blüthen haben sich geschmückt die Bäume," etc.) to make us the more deeply feel the misery of the poor incarcerated wretch. In *Die Bauern am Tissastrande* a background of spring intensifies the general atmosphere of merriment which pervades the poem. A beautiful, sensuous night in spring, with a storm threatening in the background, gives a peculiar "Stimmung" to the scene in which Faust meets the pilgrims (*Der nächtliche Zug*). Savonarola (*Sein Tod*) is executed while "Die Sonne mit dem Frühlingsstrahle Bauwerk des Todes heut begrüßt." In *Don Juan: Prospero und Maria* a spring evening is the fitting background for a beautiful woman. It should be particularly noticed, in order to appreciate Lenau the artist, that an intoxicating spring atmosphere pervades the love-drama *Don Juan*; in that work Lenau entirely relinquishes his delight in decay.

Lenau is so fond of death that he enjoys associating it even with that season which beyond all others suggests growth and vitality. The poem *Frühlings Tod* is an interesting illustration of this fact:

Warum, o Lüfte, flüstert ihr so bang?
 Durch alle Haine weht die Trauerkunde,
 Und störrisch klagt der trüben Welle Gang:
 Das ist des holden Frühlings Todesstunde!

Wenn so der Lenz frohlocket, schmerzlich ahnt
 Das Herz sein Paradies, das uns verloren,
 Und weil er uns zu laut daran gemahnt,
 Musst' ihn der heisse Sonnenpfeil durchbohren.

In *Die Zweifler* the evanescence of spring is much dwelt upon. In *Faust: der*

Abendgang, however, spring is altogether the season of exuberance; for after Faust has committed murder he feels ostracized by nature:

Ich bin allein vom Lenz verstossen;
Indem er täglich neue Sprossen
Vom Winterschlafe zieht empor,
Zählt er dem Mörder langsam vor
Und bitter quälend, Stück für Stück,
Das schöne, süsse Erdenglück,
Das dem Erschlagenen ich geraubt,
Und jede Blüthe trifft mein Haupt.

Curiously enough, although Lenau's mood grew more and more gloomy, he did not, as one might suppose, lose his love for spring. Some of his most beautiful utterances on spring are found in his last letters, and especially in *Don Juan*.

The royal wealth of summer has less fascination for Lenau. He does not appear to have delighted in the pomp which fills hot days in midsummer when all things combine to proclaim nature's strength and fertility—that phase of summer which Tennyson (*In Memoriam*, XCI) with great delicacy characterizes in these words:

When summer's hourly-mellowing change
May breathe, with many roses sweet,
Upon the thousand waves of wheat,
That ripple round the lonely grange.

Lenau speaks of this side of nature with less felicity of expression and only in passing; compare: "Der Sommer reift die Felder schon," or "der Weinberg' reife, süsse Trauben," or "durch seine üpp'gen Rankenlauben der Sommernachtwind laulich weht," or "der Sommer hat geglüht und Saat gereift." He more skilfully and frequently refers to the sultriness of summer days:

Schon hat der Lenz verblüht und ausgesungen;
Die holden Träume, seligen Gefühle
Erstarben in der bangen Sommerschwüle,
Mit der das Thatenleben angedrungen.
—*Zu spät.*

Schläfrig hangen die sonnenmüden Blätter,
Alles schweigt im Walde, nur eine Biene
Summt dort an der Blüthe mit mattem Eifer;
Sie auch liess vom sommerlichen Getöse,
Eingeschlafen vielleicht im Schooss der Blume.
—*Waldlieder*, VII.

In nothing perhaps does a poet more completely lay bare his inner life than in his view of autumn. For autumn is, on the one hand, the season in which fruit ripens and the countryman earns many of the results of his labors; therefore early autumn is, in some respects, the most gladsome part of the year: the season of rich mellow-

ness and glorious colors. On the other hand, as autumn advances, a certain element of melancholy becomes more noticeable; the growing harshness of the atmosphere, the falling of the leaves, the shriller note of the wind announce a change, and it takes exceptional objectivity and insight into the nature of the universe not to regard this change as a form of decay. It depends on the poet's temperament which of these features he prefers. Werther writes to his friend that while he was happy nature seemed to him an ever-bearing mother, but now that he is unhappy she seems an ever-open grave. That is one of the finest psychological touches in the novel and gives us a means of testing poets. Some, like Goethe, Wordsworth, Keats, and others, are inclined to look at nature as Werther did when he was well; others, notably Lenau, as Werther did when he grew morbid. Lenau is an interpreter of the fine melancholy of autumn, and even one of the most artistic.

Everywhere Lenau shows great fondness for autumn. A little group of poems is entitled *Herbst*, and references to autumn occur on nearly every page. The first three stanzas of *Herbstentschluss* are excellent specimens of his method of characterizing autumn:

Trübe Wolken, Herbstesluft,
Einsam wandl' ich meine Strassen,
Welkes Laub, kein Vogel ruft —
Ach! wie stille! wie verlassen!
Todeskühl der Winter naht;
Wo sind, Wälder, eure Wonnen?
Fluren, eurer vollen Saat
Goldne Wellen sind verronnen!
Es ist worden kühl und spät,
Nebel auf der Wiese weidet,
Durch die öden Haine weht
Heimweh; — Alles flieht und scheidet.

He excels in giving an autumn atmosphere in a few words:

Mädchen, sieh', am Wiesenhange,
Wo wir oft gewandelt sind,
Sommerfäden, leichte, lange,
Gaukeln hin im Abendwind.
Winter spinnet los' und leise
An der Fäden leichtem Flug,
Webt daran aus Schnee und Eise
Bald den Leichenüberzug.
—*Sommerfäden.*
Die entfärbten Blätter fallen
Still zu Grund vor Altersschwäche.
Die Natur, Herbstnebel spinnend,
Scheint am Rocken eingeschlafen.
—*Auf eine holländische Landschaft.*

Stoppelfeld, die Walder leer,
 Und es irrt der Wind verlassen,
 Weil kein Laub zu finden mehr,
 Rauschend seinen Gruss zu fassen.

Kranich scheidet von der Flur,
 Von der kühlen, lebensmüden.

—*Der Kranich.*

Lenau is especially fond of introducing birds of passage on their way to the south, in order to produce an autumn "Stimmung":

Wie die Nebel flattern,
 Vom Herbstwind aufgejagt aus dunklem Moor! —
 Hörst du die Wildgans in den Lüften schnattern?
 Das kündet Frost. —*Robert und der Invalide.*

Horch! plötzlich in der Luft ein schnatterndes Geplauder:
 Wildgänse auf der Flucht vor winterlichem Schauder.

Sie jagen hinter sich den Herbst mit raschen Flügeln,
 Sie lassen scheu zurück das Sterben auf den Hügeln. . . .

Ihr ahnungsvoller Laut lässt sich noch immer hören,
 Dem Wanderer in der Brust die Wehmuth aufzustören.
 —*Ein Herbstabend.*

Compare also Mephisto's description of the magic tapestry in *Faust: die Reise*. Lenau sometimes employs other means to produce the sad atmosphere of autumn: "Aus dem Verfall des Laubes tauchen Die Nester" (*Waldlieder*, IX);

Zur sanften Wehmuth lichtet sich das Thal,
 Dort kommt der Mond zum stillen Abschiedsfeste;
 Es will sein Silberschimmer noch einmal
 Sich schmiegen an des Sommers karge Reste.
 —*Waldkapelle*, II.

To Lenau autumn is essentially the season of melancholy and decay, and appeals to him on that account; in *Waldlieder*, IX he says: "Rings ein Verstummen, ein Entfärben. . . . Ich liebe dieses milde Sterben." In *Faust: das Waldgespräch* the respective attitudes of Mephisto and Faust are characteristic:

Mephistopheles:

Hörst du im Wald des Herbstes Räuberpfiff,
 Mein Freund, und hörst du rauschen seinen Griff?
 O Schade, dass der Lenz nicht hundertmal
 Mehr grünes Laub getrieben hat im Thal,
 Auf dass der Herbst mit hundertfacher Beute
 Hinsausend jetzo mir das Herz erfreute!
 Denn weh zumal thut Menschen das Verlieren,
 Und nach der Sommerlust ihr erstes Frieren.

Faust:

Nein! es ist elend, dass des Frühlings Leiter
Zu Blüth' und Lust hinauf nicht reichet weiter,
Dass Alles ist so knapp gezählt auf Erden!
Bankbrüchig muss Natur in allen Jahren
Der Forderung der armen Menschen werden,
Und zur Erholung lange Winter sparen.

In both speeches autumn is regarded as a form of exhaustion or as a form of bereavement. Faust's regret, however, more nearly reflects Lenau's attitude than Mephisto's satanic satisfaction. Yet this regret is not without its keen joy, as is shown by his utterance in *Waldlieder*: "Ich liebe dieses milde Sterben"—a mixture of feelings significant for Lenau, "Wonne der Wehmuth" translated into the nature-sense. In the following passages occur fine characterizations of autumn as the season of decay: In *Reise-Empfindung* the poet speaks of "schmerzliches Vergehn;" in *Herbstklage* we read: "des Herbstes banges Treiben" and "Sterbeseufzer der Natur schauern durch die welken Haine;" in *Herbstentschluss*: "Todeskühl der Winter naht, Wo sind, Wälder, eure Wonnen?" and "durch die öden Haine weht Heimweh;" in *Herbstgefühl*: "Der Buchenwald ist herbstlich schon geröthet, So wie ein Kranker, der sich neigt zum sterben;"²⁸ in *Ein Herbstabend*: "Alle Wälder klagen. Das Bächlein schleicht hinab, von abgestorbenen Hainen Tragt es die Blätter fort mit halbersticktem Weinen. . . . Wildgänse . . . lassen scheu zurück das Sterben auf den Hügeln;" in *Waldestrost*: "Den Bäumen nimmt der Herbst das Laub, Der Tod im Walde tost;" in *Waldgang*: "Und rauschend flocht und bunter Der Herbst der Wehmuth Kränze;" in *Herbstlied*: "Die Buche seh' ich schwinden Im Froste lebenssatt;" in *Das Lied vom armen Finken*: "Das Heer der kalten Winde, Die unsre Wälder morden;" in *Faust: der Abschied*: "Zog nur das Trauerstöhnen Vorbei der Herbstesluft?" Compare also the following passages:

Das dürre Laub, der Windhauch gibt es kund,
Gesritten kommt allmählig schon der Winter.
Die Sonne ging, umhüllt von Wolken dicht,
Unfreundlich, ohne Scheideblick von hinnen,
Und die Natur verstummt, im Dämmerlicht
Schwermüthig ihrem Tode nachzusinnen.

—*Die Waldkapelle, I.*

Ja, Ja, ihr lauten Raben,
Hoch in der kühlen Luft,
's geht wieder an's Begraben,
Ihr flattert um die Gruft!
Die Wälder sind gestorben,
Hier, dort ein leeres Nest;
Die Wiesen sind verdorben;
O kurzes Freudenfest!

—*Herbstlied.*

²⁸ Compare with this Shelley's "the leaves dead, . . . yellow, black and pale and hectic red, pestilence-stricken multitudes."

Nun gilt des Herbstes Sterbgebot,
 Doch unglücklich ist das Thal,
 Dass hin der holde Sommerstrahl
 Der Baum, der Busch, so todesmatt,
 Hält seufzend fest am letzten Blatt.

—*In einer Schlucht.*

Yet even Lenau is at times capable of regarding autumn as the season of fruitfulness: "Viel Herbste schwanden dir [*i. e.*, heimathliches Thal], Die deine Trauben reiften" (*Das Wiedersehen*);

Nach Saint-Germain zum Verkaufe
 Trägt ein Häuflein Bauersleute,
 Was der Herbst mit vollen Händen
 Ihm auf Flur und Garten streute.

—*Klara Hebert: die Botschaft.*

The idea is faintly hinted at in the description of autumn on Mephisto's magic tapestry in *Faust: die Reise*: "Du siehst am Felde schöne Schnitterinnen Du hörst die Wachtel schlagen im Getreide." Autumn may even suggest hopeful thoughts to Lenau; for example, in *Waldgang*, written in the winter of 1833-34:

Und rauschend flocht und bunter
 Der Herbst der Wehmuth Kränze.
 Doch aus des Walds Verdüstern,
 Den Stimmen des Vergehens,
 Hört' ich die Hoffnung flüstern
 Des ew'gen Wiedersehens.

The most profound utterance Lenau ever made on autumn, one which presupposes extraordinary insight and maturity, which hence is surprising as coming from a person of his temperament, occurs in the last of the *Waldlieder* (written in 1844—*cf. R.*, pp. 191, 192—at a time, therefore, when we might expect unusual subjectivity and melancholy from him); Goethe himself could not have said anything profounder than this:

Rings ein Verstummen, ein Entfärben
 Die Blätter fallen stets, die müden.
 In dieses Waldes leisem Rauschen
 Ist mir, als hör' ich Kunde wehen,
 Dass alles Sterben und Vergehen
 Nur heimlichstill vergnügtes Tauschen.

It will be noticed that nowhere in Lenau occurs a single reference to the beauties of the American autumn; yet he arrived in Baltimore in October, 1832, and remained in this country until the following spring. As a matter of fact, the Italian spring and the American autumn are the most beautiful seasons in the world. Autumn never can have the intoxicating fascination of spring in the South, but the American

autumn, especially in those parts of the United States which Lenau visited, amply compensates by dazzling wealth of colors and by the fact that during the last weeks, that is, during the "Indian summer," a peculiar beauty pervades all nature. This is caused by the delicate haze which like a magic veil reconciles all color-conflicts. Furthermore—and this element should particularly have appealed to Lenau—the contrast between the royal splendor in which nature is clothed, and the innumerable great and small indications of decay which everywhere meet the sensitive eye and ear, give our autumn a peculiarly dramatic note. Lastly, there is something poignant in the sudden and complete change which comes over nature after the first frost and snow-fall. Perhaps Lenau hated America too much to be willing to look about him even in nature, or perhaps the autumn of 1832 was singularly disagreeable.

Lenau did not enjoy the American autumn, but he described autumn in Germany with sovereign mastery. I doubt whether he has a rival in this field. I am aware that only detailed study can answer such a question, and that especially in attempting to determine a poet's attitude toward nature a few striking passages or the absence of them may mislead us; yet, so far as my knowledge of literature permits me to judge, no one is his equal. He is a great interpreter of autumn, in spite of the fact that his point of view is not the broadest or the healthiest; but granted his interpretation, no one can deny the adequacy of his method.

Like him, Shelley regards nature in autumn as moribund and decaying. In *Alastor* he speaks of "autumn's hollow sighs in the sere woods" — a happy touch: we hear the staggering old year coughing through the leafless forests. Heine looks at autumn much as Lenau does; in *Neuer Frühling: Katharina* we find:

Das gelbe Laub erzittert,
Es fallen die Blätter herab.
Ach, was hold und lieblich
Verwelkt und sinkt ins Grab.

Die Wipfel des Waldes umflimmert
Ein schmerzlicher Sonnenschein,
Das mögen die letzten Küsse
Des scheidenden Sommers sein.

To Lamartine, perhaps the most elegiacal French poet, autumn is also the time of melancholy and decay. *L'automne*, the thirty-fifth of the *Méditations poétiques*, contains fine touches:

Salut, bois couronnés de restes de verdure,
Feuillage jaunissant sur les gazons épars!
Salut, derniers beaux jours, le deuil de la nature
Convient à la douleur et plait à mes regards.
Oui, dans ces jours d'automne, où la nature expire,
À ses regards voilés je trouve le plus d'attraits;
C'est le deuil d'un ami, c'est le dernier sourire
Des lèvres que la mort va fermer pour jamais.

Théophile Gautier gracefully expresses the idea of decay by saying that the swallows migrate: "voyant venir la rouille aux bois" (*Ce que disent les hirondelles*, in *Émaux et camées*). Not all poets, however, see death in autumn, and it is interesting to note that among those to whom autumn is the season of fruition and ripeness are men famed for depth and health. Goethe speaks of the maturing forces at work in autumn in *Herbstgefühl*. (Morbid Werther, however, it should be noticed, seems to see in autumn the season of decay; cf. the letter dated September 4, Book II.) In *September 1819* and *Upon the Same Occasion* Wordsworth expresses ideas quite in keeping with his well-balanced temperament. Possibly the following passage from *Lycoris* is in some respects even more significant:

In youth we love the darksome lawn
 Brushed by the owlet's wing;
 Then, Twilight is preferred to Dawn,
 And Autumn to the Spring.
 Sad fancies do we then affect,
 In luxury of disrespect
 To our own prodigal excess
 Of too familiar happiness.
 Lycoris (if such name befit
 Thee, thee my life's celestial sign!)
 When Nature marks the year's decline,
 Be ours to welcome it;
 Pleased with the harvest hope that runs
 Before the path of milder suns;
 Pleased while the sylvan world displays
 Its ripeness to the feeding gaze;
 Pleased when the sullen winds resound the knell
 Of the resplendent miracle.

But something whispers to my heart
 That, as we downward tend,
 Lycoris! life requires an *art*
 To which our souls must bend;
 A skill—to balance and supply;
 And, ere the flowing fount be dry,
 As soon it must, a sense to sip,
 Or drink, with no fastidious lip.
 Then welcome, above all, the Guest
 Whose smiles, diffused o'er land and sea,
 Seem to recall the Deity
 Of youth into the breast:
 May pensive Autumn ne'er present
 A claim to her disparagement!
 While blossoms and the budding spray
 Inspire us in our own decay;
 Still, as we nearer draw to life's dark goal,
 Be hopeful Spring the favourite of the soul!

In Keats's fine *Ode to Autumn* the poet uses his exceptional power of language to call up before our eyes a picture of wealth and beauty:

Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,
Close bosom-friend of the maturing sun;
Conspiring with him how to load and bless
With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run;
To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,
And fill all fruit with ripeness to the core; etc.

Winter, with its hardships and discomforts, has naturally been regarded with dislike. Throughout popular poetry an idea of hostility toward it is clearly expressed. In the far North winter could at times have unspeakable horrors. Even long after civilization had furnished man with means of protecting himself, this disparaging view of winter lingered in literature as a tradition, and the beauties of a winter landscape were not recorded; the adequate appreciation of the beauties of winter is a comparatively recent acquisition.²⁰

Lenau's attitude toward winter is not consistent. He writes in 1844 (Sch., II, p. 152) that winter seemed to him "die schlechte Subjectivität der Erde, ihre Abkehr vom Licht und von der Wärme der himmlischen Liebe;" yet he could enjoy the beauty of Alpine scenery in winter. At least Schurz (II, p. 228) tells us that Lenau a short time before his illness longed to go to Ischl in winter: "Wenn der Mond so aufsteige im Winter und die weisse Gegend und die hohen Wipfel erleuchte, das sei ganz geisterhaft, so feierlich." In *Faust: die Reise* the characteristic beauties of winter are described in the speech of Mephisto:

Fällt dir mit seinem Reiz der Winter ein,
Wird's gleich auf der Tapete Winter sein:
Die sturmverwehten Blätter rauschend fallen,
Dicht stöbert Schnee, nun starren alle Bäche,
Die erst geplätschert, auf gefrorener Fläche
Ziehn lustige Schlitten hin mit Peitschenknallen.

Whatever Lenau's view of winter might be, he speaks of it more frequently than he does of summer, and sometimes betrays true poetic feeling. Figures borrowed from winter are rare. In a letter he writes: "Trauer für ihn überzog das Aeussere mit Eis" (Sch., I, p. 42). And again: "Es naht der Frühling für die Natur, der für die Wünsche unserer Liebe ein Winter ist" (L. and S., p. 31). Several times a winter scene is introduced by way of background; in *In der Schenke* the winter outside of the tavern by contrast makes the mirth within appear more joyous:

Unsre Gläser klingen hell,
Freudig singen unsre Lieder;
Draussen schlägt der Nachtgesell

²⁰For the evolution of that appreciation in English literature of the last century see MISS MYRA REYNOLDS, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*, Chicago, 1896.

Sturm sein brausendes Gefieder,
 Draussen hat die rauhe Zeit
 Unserer Schenke Thür verschneit.

A similar contrast occurs in *Prolog*; in *An Kleyle* a winter evening ("in winterlichem Dämmerlicht") is introduced by way of background for a sad scene (cf. also *Die Mutter am Grabe ihres Kindes*, L. and S., p. 230). A poet whose pessimistic tendencies are so great that he sees decay even in spring cannot help regarding winter as the death of nature:

Winter spinnet
 An der Fäden leichtem Flug,
 Webt daran aus Schnee und Eise
 Bald den Leichenüberzug.
 —*Sommerfäden.*

Zu öd und traurig selbst den Haidewinden
 Sind diese winterlichen Einsamkeiten,
 Nur Schnee und Schnee ringsaus in alle Weiten,
 Nur stiller, keuscher, kalter Tod zu finden.
 —*Die nächtliche Fahrt.*

Der Winter stand, ein eiserner Tyrann
 Ihr Leben [*i. e.*, of hills and dales] lag erstarrt in seinem Bann
 Gesellig drängte doch das Menschenleben
 In Lust und Spiel zusammen seine Gluthen,
 Liess Freudenfeste über'm Tode schweben.
 —*Prolog.*

We may epitomize by saying that Lenau is a masterly poet of autumn, which to him is essentially the period of decay; he is keenly sensitive to the beauties of spring, without showing as much astonishing originality in his treatment of it as he does in his treatment of autumn; he almost overlooks summer, and makes few references to winter.

Lenau's preference as regards the different parts of the day are also eminently characteristic. Morning plays a rather insignificant part in his verses. In *Reise-Empfindung* a happy morning is described; a similarly healthy atmosphere pervades *Seemorgen*; in *Der ewige Jude* occurs a description of a fine morning in the Alps:

Und Alpenlerchen hört' ich jubelnd schmettern,
 Und Adler sah ich steigen in die Lüfte,
 Die scheue Gemse springen über Klüfte,
 Den Jäger nach im Morgenrothe klettern.

Klara Hebert: der Ring begins: "Jubelnd ist der Tag erschienen, schwingt den Goldpokal der Sonne." More descriptions have been discussed in the paragraphs dealing with Lenau's treatment of dawn. Metaphors and similes borrowed from the morning are commonplace: "Seines Glücks flücht'gen Morgenschimmer" (*Abmahnung*); "Der Tugend und der Schönheit Morgenschein" (*Faust: Maria*). Several

times morning is associated with youth: "Maria that in ihrer Morgenblüthe [*i. e.*, youth] Der Einsamkeit entsagungsvolle Flucht" (*Marionetten*, II). In *Don Juan: Prospero und Maria* Maria says of herself: "Ich wandle noch die hellen Morgensteige;" in *Klara Hebert: der Ring* a beautiful morning is a fit setting for a scene of joy and happiness. In *Savonarola: der Bann* morning is symbolical of the reaction against the corruption of the Roman church: "Des Bösen Fluch ist Gottes Segen, Schon flieht die Nacht, der Morgen graut."

Lenau seems to have been callous to the rich pomp of noon. The following passage is the only one in his works which apparently distinctly refers to noon or early afternoon:

Hier regt kein Hauch das durst'ge Laub,
Und ruhig liegt der feinste Staub.
Die Sommerluft ist schwül und matt
Und auf der Wasserfläche glatt
Mag sicher hin die Spinne schreiten,
Sie kann in keine Furche gleiten;
Die Möven taumeln träg' und schlagen
Die schlaffe Luft mit Unbehagen.

—*Die Rache.*

As a true "romantic" poet Lenau loves evening and night. The hour of brightness and freshness attracts him less than the hour of rich and changing colors, or that of pensive melancholy or of gloom. He shows his fondness for evening by frequent mention of it and by singularly happy use of adjectives: "Schon zerfließt das ferne Gebirg mit Wolken . . . den Wogen entsteigt der Mond" (*Abendbilder*); "Schon verrauscht der Tag, und des Abends sanftere Seele Fließt wie süsse Musik sanftigend uns in die Brust" (*An Mathilde*);

Friedlicher Abend senkt sich auf's Gefilde;
Sanft entschlummert Natur, um ihre Züge
Schwebt der Dämmerung zarte Verhüllung, und sie
Lächelt, die holde . . .
Stille wird's im Walde . . .
Bald versinkt die Sonne; des Waldes Riesen
Heben höher sich in die Lüfte, um noch
Mit des Abends flüchtigen Rosen sich ihr
Haupt zu bekränzen.

Schon verstummt die Matte, etc.—*Abendbilder.*

Gedenkst du noch des Abends . . .
So blühend, leicht, wie junge Rosenblätter . . .
Im Haine sprang von Baum zu Baum die Röthe . . .
Sanft senkten sich in feierliches Schweigen
Die Züge der Natur, kein Lüftchen sprach,
Sie schien ihr göttlich Angesicht zu neigen,
Als sänne still sie einer Freude nach.

—*An Kleyle.*

Tiefschweigend ruhn die Alpenwiesenhänge,
 Die Blume schliesst den Thau in ihren Schooss
 Und freut sich still an ihrem Frühlingsloos;
 Die Vögel sinnen schweigend auf Gesänge.
 Fern unten tönt im Thal ein leiser Bronnen,
 Als träumte dem Gebirg von einem Quell;
 Es glüht im Abendscheine purpurhell
 Der Wald, verloren in sprachlose Wonnen.
 Wie freudesinnend steht die Lämmerherde,
 Vergessend nun das frische Alpenkraut;
 Still hält der lichte Wolkenzug und schaut
 Herunter nach der schönen Frühlingserde.
 Nur manchmal die blühenden Gestalten
 Der Bäume selig rauschend sich verneigen,
 Ein Windhauch, überschwellend, bricht das Schweigen,
 Wie Wonneseufzer nimmer festzuhalten.

—*Faust: der Abendgang.*

Evening is sometimes regarded as the death of day; cf. "Des Tages süsse Neige"
 (*Der Greis*), and

Wieder ist ein Tag gesunken
 In die stille Todesruh;
 Leichte Abendwölkchen schweben
 Und aus bleichen Rosen weben
 Sie dem toten Tag den Kranz.

—*Vergangenheit.*

Many passages which belong under this heading have been discussed under Lenau's treatment of sunset. An evening at sea is described in *Faust: der Traum*: "Der Wind ist mit der Sonne schlafen gangen, Die Wellen werden leiser, dunkler immer." Similarly in *Sturmesmythe*:

Stumm und regungslos in sich verschlossen
 Ruht die tiefe See dahingegossen,
 Sendet ihren Gruss dem Strande nicht
 Und die Sonne ist hinabgeschieden,
 Hüllend breitet um den Todesfrieden
 Schleier nun auf Schleier stille Nacht.

Sometimes evening is used symbolically for old age: "Ich war eben nicht fleissig genug, und der Abend überrascht mich mitten unter meinen Wünschen, Entwürfen und Halbheiten" (R., p. 156); and, "Selige Genüg' war ihr stilles Leben, Dass sie den Abend ihres Vaters hütete" (*Marionetten*, II). Lenau often describes an evening "Stimmung" with more or less detail as a background to various moods or scenes. In *Schilflieder*, I such a "Stimmung" is introduced to correspond with the poet's sad mood:

Drüben geht die Sonne scheiden,
 Und der müde Tag entschlief
 Und ich muss mein Liebstes meiden:
 Quill, o Thräne, quill hervor!

In *An Kleye* a beautiful evening is the background of a happy scene; a winter evening is the background of a sad scene in *Die Wurmliinger Kapelle*; a fine evening in autumn is described by way of setting for "die süsse Todesmüdigkeit" which fills the poet's soul; the description of a calm evening is given to help deepen the atmosphere of holy serenity which distinguishes the old man, the subject of the poem *Der Greis*; a glorious evening after a storm at sea ("scheidend warf der Tag seine Strahlen in der Wellen bunt Gedränge") glows as a fine, "stimmungsvoll" background of the first meeting of two lovers in *Klara Hebert: der selige Abend*. Compare, too, *An der Bahre der Geliebten*; *Die Waldkapelle*, III; *Lebewohl an Eugenie*; *Am Rhein*; *An Luise*; *Mischka an der Marosch*, III; *Erinnerung*, in which an evening atmosphere is indicated as a background for love scenes. In *Die Haideschenke* a cloudy evening adds to the element of picturesqueness which fills the poem; in *Ahasver, der ewige Jude* the melancholy of parting day ("die Sonne geht im Westen still verloren") corresponds to the sad scene in the foreground of the picture—the burial of a shepherd youth. The same harmony between the background and the foreground is found in *Der Urwald*: while the sun is setting, the poet sadly ponders the note of death which runs through all nature. Compare *Marie und Wilhelm*; *Weib und Kind*; *Anna*, V; *Johannes Ziska*. Rarely the loveliness and peace of evening contrast with misery and sadness; cf., however, *Marionetten*, III. Evening is the time of lovers; in *Schilflieder*, III, the poet says: "Auf geheimem Waldespfade Schleich' ich gern im Abendscheine, Mädchen, und gedenke dein." Figures borrowed from evening are rare: "Abendschatten und Kinder je länger sie werden desto tiefer neigt sich unsere Sonne" (Sch., I, p. 235).

Night has even more beauties to the "romantic" temperament than evening; its mystery is alluring, stimulates pensiveness, and its real or supposed horrors have a similar fascination as abysses and stormy skies. Hence, during the emotional upheaval discussed above, night is an ever-recurring theme of the poets. Novalis writes *Hymnen an die Nacht*; Eichendorff nowhere is more poetical than in his descriptions of tranced nights filled with the rustle of trees and the splashing of fountains. Alfred de Musset expresses some of his most beautiful and graceful thoughts in his *Nuits*; Chopin pours out his whole soul in his *Nocturnes*.

Lenau is closely connected in temperament with all of these men, and hence is as sensitive as they to the peculiar beauty of the night.⁴⁰ Klemm relates (Sch., I, p. 63) that Lenau was fond of taking walks at night. "Die stille kühle Nacht" is to Lenau

⁴⁰ Many passages which in some respects might properly have come under this heading were discussed in the section referring to Lenau's treatment of sky effects.

Die Zeit des Mitleids und der Güte,
 Die Zeit des Mondes und der Sterne,
 Das ist die ungestörte Zeit
 Des Heimwehs nach der stillen Ferne
 Aus diesem Thal voll Schmerz und Streit
 Dann kehrt zu seinem Heiligthume
 Das sturmverschlagene Herz— und glaubt.
 —*Savonarola: Weihnacht.*

Night is "die Freundin stiller Betrachtung," and it lifts the heart above the "Macht bethörender Lüste Und mit Zaubergewalt entreisst du [*i. e.*, die Nacht] dem Auge die Binde Von der Leidenschaft um ihren Vasallen geschlungen" (*In einer Sommernacht gesungen*, L. and S., 218—one of his earliest poems). During the day the heart is "unzugänglich Für die leiseren Genien des Lebens Aber in der Stille der Nacht, des Schlummers, Wacht die Seele heimlich und lauscht wie Hero, Bis verborgen ihr Gott ihr naht, herüber Schwimmend durch das wallende Meer der Träume" (*Waldlieder*, VII—one of his last poems). Lenau is fond of the night, not merely because it awakens certain trains of thought—he loves it for its own sake: "Es ist stille Nacht. Die Luft schweigt, wie banges schwer sehnstüchtige Erwarten" (L. and S., p. 78); "O die Nacht is so voll Wehmuth und Sehnsucht wie mein Herz Draussen in der Dunkelheit ist doch alles auf und geschäftig nach dem Gewitter des Abends. Grillen und Frösche, Wind und ein leiser Nachregen, rauschendes Laub und in der Ferne irrendes Wetterleuchten" (L. and S., p. 142); "Die Bäume Brausend um die keusche Nacht Ihre Riesenarme schlingen" (*Der Maskenball*); "Lieblich war die Maiennacht, Silberwölklein flogen" (*Der Postillon*);

Wie feierlich die Gegend schweigt!
 Der Mond bescheint die alten Fichten
 Dort heult im tiefen Waldesraum
 Ein Wolf;— wie's Kind aufweckt die Mutter,
 Schreit er die Nacht aus ihrem Traum:
 —*Winternacht.*

Frühlingsnacht! kein Lüftchen weht,
 Nicht die schwanksten Halme nicken,
 Jedes Blatt, von Mondesblicken
 Wie bezaubert, stille steht.
 —*Waldlieder*, V.

Das Meer ist still, nicht eine Welle ruft,
 Und rauschend stehen geblieben ist die Luft;
 So still die Nacht, man hört des Herzens Klopfen
 Und schier den Thau vom Himmel niedertropfen.
 —*Faust: der Traum.*

This night "Stimmung," which Lenau so well understands, he often introduces into his poetry by way of background as a graceful and often important element of

poetic interpretation. Night, generally a moonlight night, is the background in several love poems: "Einst, o nächtlicher Himmel! blickt' ich Selig empor zu dir, umschlungen von der Geliebten" (L. and S., p. 231);

Ich würd' in Mondesnächten,
Beim stillen Sternenglanz,
Von wilden Liedern flechten
Um meine Braut den Kranz.
—Wunsch.

Compare *Mischka an der Marosch*, III. In *Der schwere Abend* a dark night corresponds to the sad mood of two lovers (cf. also *Marionetten*, III). Often moonlight nights or nights in spring correspond to scenes of joy or to a feeling of happiness in the poet (cf. *Das todte Glück*; *Die Bauern am Tissastrande*); again, gruesome or sad scenes are described against a gloomy background of stormy nights (cf. *Der Raubschütz*; *Faust: der Abschied*; *Faust: sein Tod*; *Savonarola: die Bestattung*—a scene where bodies of murdered people are cast into the Tiber; *Don Juan: Kirchhof*—the scene of Don Juan and the statue). Metaphors and similes borrowed from the night are mostly uninteresting: "Kerkernacht," "Stundenacht," "Heidenacht," "ihres Haars gelockte Nacht," "ein Nachtgebiet von Gram und Leid," "der Nachtgesang des Zweifels," etc. The eye of the beloved is beautifully called "ernste, milde, träumerische, unergründlich tiefe Nacht" (*Bitte*). "Nacht" and "nächtlich" often stand for things gloomy and unpleasant: he speaks of "mein nächtliches Herz," meaning my gloomy, sad heart (Sch., I, p. 155).

Lenau, then, shows himself comparatively unsensitive to the beauties of morning and noon, but thoroughly appreciative of the beauties of evening, and especially of the night.

IV

After a detailed discussion of Lenau's knowledge of nature and his artistic interpretation of her, what next merits attention is his view of her as a source of good or evil, of comfort or distress. Temperaments widely differ in this respect. There have been men, and as civilization has grown in complexity their number has increased, who looked upon nature as a thing fair but cruel, a beautiful tiger, a siren who bewitches man with her entrancing melodies the more easily to ruin him. Others, and their ranks are thin, derive deep consolation from nature; they fervently believe in her as a mother, though a severe one, and trust in her.

To hyper-sensitive Lenau nature could not but be painful; she was even more—she seems at times to have been crushing. "Die Natur ist furchtbar," he wrote some time after his mother's death (Sch., I, p. 216). Another time, looking at dry autumn leaves, he exclaimed: "Sie [i. e., nature] ist grausam; sie hat kein Mitleid, die Natur ist erbarmungslos" (Sch., II, p. 104). Again, he speaks to Sophie (L. and S., p. 29) of "die starren und herzlosen Naturkräfte;" and to the same he says: "Verschwendung, Versäumnis, unwiederbringliche Versäumnis und Verfehlen der

schönsten Anschläge — das begegnet einem Freunde der Geschichte überall in ihr und der Natur" (L. and S., p. 115). Once he complains: "Es ist schrecklich, von den kalten, unerbittlichen Launen der Natur so abhängen zu müssen." In *Aus* he claims: "Das Menschenherz hat keine Stimme im finstern Rathe der Natur." In *Faust: der Jugendfreund* he goes so far as to say:

Ist doch die sämtliche Natur
Zu unsrer Qual geschäftig nur,
Ein heimlich tückisches Complot;
Die Glieder halten fest zusammen,
Dass keins das andere je verräth.

The indifference of nature to human anguish offends Lenau, hence he felt that man needs a mediator (Frankl, p. 56); he means the words he puts in Mephisto's mouth (*Faust: Abendgang*): "Natur lebt nur für sich, verschlossen, Und sie hat Nichts mit dir zu kramen," for he says in *Die Heidelberger Ruine*:

Mit gleichgültiger Geberde
Spielt' die Blum' in Farb und Duft,
Wo an einer Menschengruft
Ihren Jubel treibt die Erde.

Kann mein Herz vor Groll nicht hüten . . .
Kalt und roh sind diese Blüthen.

In *Savonarola: die Pest* we are told that when a hearse went through Florence during the pestilence, "die Nachtigallen jubeln freier und süsser duftet's durch die Nacht." In *Savonarola: sein Tod* the poet exclaims: "Ja, wenn ein Herz der Frühling hätte, er finge laut zu klagen an" (over Savonarola's death). All nature is callous. Anyone appealing in despair to winds, to stones, to roses, will find no consolation; roses are "beschäftigt mit ihrem eignen Sterben" (cf., too, *Einsamkeit*: "Auf deine Frage bringt Antwort nicht des Waldes Schweigen"). In *Faust* Lenau gives vent to a feeling of bitterness that nature does not yield her secrets to the heart anxious to understand her: in a fit of anger Faust takes up and casts away flowers, stones, and insects because every one of them "ihm von seiner Schöpfung nichts gestand" (*Faust: der Morgengung*). "Schweigsam verstockt ist alle Creatur," Faust says in *Die Beschreibung*. This reticence on the part of nature has had, and still has, the effect on strong minds of stimulating them into healthy activity; to the hopelessly morbid, like Lenau, it is merely irritating and depressing. But, worse than all, this life does not exhaust the tortures to which we are exposed. In *Die Zweifler* a pessimist exclaims:

Glauben kann ich nimmermehr,
Es habe sich das ganze Heer
Von Qualen, die gebar Natur,
Gelagert auf die Erde nur;
Dass sie von dieser Welt nicht wandern
Mit uns hinüber in die andern.

From all that has been said so far, it would appear that Frankl (p. 8) is correct in stating: "Byron, wenn ihn das Leben am schmerzlichsten ergriffen hat, flüchtet zu den schauerlichen Schönheiten der Natur, sie besänftigen, sie beruhigen ihn; Lenau empfängt von ihnen erst die herbsten Schmerzen." We have seen, however, how soothing and inspiring the beauties of nature were to our poet. It is not mere æsthetic enjoyment that attracts him to them. Many passages transcribed above, both from his letters and his poetry, clearly show that. Let us take the following: "So ein paar Stunden in der Einsamkeit des Waldes verlebt, sind für ein in die Waldgeheimnisse eingeweihtes Herz von unermesslicher Wohlthatigkeit, wenn ihm in seine schmerzhaftesten, sonst für kein Heilmittel zugänglichen Stellen von unsichtbaren Händen ein heimlicher Balsam geträufelt wird" (letter written in 1843, R., p. 178); "Alpen! . . . Bergend vor der Welt ein herbes Leid Hab' ich es zu euch hinaufgetragen" (*An die Alpen*); in *Das Ross und der Reiter* a horseman is described as watching the sunset on the Alps: "Und auf den Wandrer sinkt, den düstern, sehnsuchtkranken, Der frische Seelenthau der himmlischen Gedanken. Es strömt auf ihn herab die ew'ge Liebesquelle;"

Natur! will dir ans Herz mich legen!
Verzeih, dass ich dich konnte meiden,
Dass Heilung ich gesucht für Leiden,
Die du mir gabst zum herben Segen.

Sometimes Lenau more subtly and indirectly refers to the consoling and inspiring forces of nature, as in *Marie und Wilhelm*, stanza 16, *Zweifel und Ruhe*, etc., etc. The following passages are particularly interesting: In *Der Polenflüchtling* the hero of the poem, sad and tired, sinks down at night in an oasis:

Ein süßes Lied des Mitleids singt
Entgegen ihm die Quelle,
Und säuselnd weht das Gras ihn an:
O schlummre hier, du armer Mann!

In *Klara Hebert: der nächtliche Gang*, when the noble Pole is put into prison:

Horch! ein Lüftchen aus den Auen,
Wo die Nachtigallen singen,
Kommt dem Armen nachgefliegen,
Ihm noch einen Laut zu bringen.

Weiter kam das gute Lüftchen,
Wie ein Kind, das frohbehende
Einem Bettler, wenn er scheidet,
Nacheilt mit der milden Spende.

What was then Lenau's point of view? Was nature essentially a monster to him, or was she essentially a source of comfort? We may formulate the answer as follows: Nature, using the word in its widest sense, is composed of two distinct elements; one of these appeals to the philosopher and scientist, and the other to the artist. Her outer

garb, "nature" in a narrower sense, all that appeals to the eye, is an object of interest to painters and poets; the inner mechanism, the laws which govern the universe, absorb the attention of thinkers and investigators. Lenau (and the "romantic" temperament in general, of which he is so interesting an expression) is altogether artistic. He cares little for science, and, strictly speaking, is incapable of sufficiently disciplining himself to group the phenomena of nature under laws, and to understand the surpassing beauty of these laws. The charms of external nature, however, delight beyond measure a soul like Lenau's; so great is the pleasure and comfort it derives from the loveliness of landscape that this loveliness conveys much more than merely æsthetic joy; it leads to something like consolation, serenity, calmness. It is a magic remedy for some of the wounds and bruises caused by daily contact with life. Lenau flees the society of men and revels in the complete solitude of nature. At the same time, however, the "romantic" temperament, being hyper-sensitive and morbid, cruelly feels the uncompromising consistency of nature's laws and their sovereign neglect of the individual; it regards nature (using the word as denoting the grand mechanism of the world) as essentially hostile and brutal. Our poet in particular, darkly aware that a grewsome fate was awaiting him, looked upon nature as the harshest monster; yet because of his extreme appreciation of the beauties of landscape, he was at the same time able to gather profound comfort from the beauty of nature's outward garb.

Goethe, in this respect as in so many others, is Lenau's antipode; he combined massive health and extreme sensitiveness. Hence he was able both to grasp and admire nature as a web of laws, and also to delight in her outward glory; his appreciation, therefore, is complete. In his *Briefe aus der Schweiz*, in *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, etc., he views nature both as a scientist and as an artist. No one so far in the history of literature has shown an attitude toward nature more many-sided, more mature. The growing knowledge of nature's laws was an ever-deepening source of inspiration to Goethe, in spite of his being by no means blind to the element of cruelty in her. Mr. John Morley,⁴¹ in a suggestive essay on Wordsworth, has pointed out that Wordsworth is Goethe's inferior in not being "energetically alive to nature red in tooth and claw;" in other words, not sufficiently impressed, to use Sidney Lanier's happy words, by

Th' indifferent smile that Nature's grace
On Jesus, Judas pours alike;
Th' indifferent frown on Nature's face,
When luminous lightnings strangely strike
The sailor praying on his knees and spare
His mate that's cursing God.

But to Wordsworth—and here he significantly differs from Lenau and the "romantic" mood in general—nature is the great informing power of life. She is what culture was

⁴¹ Introduction to his edition of Wordsworth (London: Macmillan, 1893), p. lxxi.

to Goethe: "If, in my youth, I have been pure in heart, if, mingling with the world, I am content with my own modest pleasures, and have lived with God and Nature communing, removed from little enmities and low desires The gift is yours, ye winds and sounding cataracts! 'tis yours, ye mountains! thine, O Nature!" It is nature that vouchsafes Wordsworth his balmy serenity; and as he had the gift of artistic communication, he became one of the greatest forces (at least in English-speaking countries; for, unfortunately, the continent insists on remaining deaf to him) which counteract influences in modern life tending to hysteria and morbidity.

In fact, Wordsworth's serenity, to our mind, occupies a peculiarly interesting position in the history of culture. Two ideals of serenity have, if we mistake not, held sway in Europe: the Greek and the Christian. A third, the oriental, though important, has never ruled supreme. The Greek is based on physical health and a perfectly harmonious and controlled development of the whole individuality. Goethe is the most admirable and profound representative of it in modified form in modern civilization. The other, the Christian, is based on unquestioning trust in the kindness of a power inscrutable and unknown, which will bring all things to a satisfactory consummation in the next world, as it evidently does not in this. Wordsworth's serenity is different from either, though a childlike trust in the kindness of Providence enters into it. He seems to call out to us: "Go ye to Nature, ye who are heavy-laden, and she will give you rest. She is the expression of a kindly power that loves you. Enter into her spirit and peace will be yours." Wordsworth was not the first to feel the assuaging influence of nature. All lovers of nature, from the ancients down, have appreciated it, however feebly. At certain stages in the world's development the feeling deepened, particularly when men, fleeing the crowded cities, sought refuge in nature. This was true during the decaying stages of Greek civilization (Theocritus), at the time of the Roman empire (Vergil, Horace, Pliny the Younger, etc.), during the Renaissance (Petrarch, the pastoral poets headed by Sannazaro, Tasso, d'Urfé, etc.), in the eighteenth century (Rousseau), during the nineteenth century (Byron, Shelley, Lamartine, Lenau); but never had anyone formulated this feeling into a principle, a cult, a religion. Nor does, in Wordsworth's case, preference for nature imply inability to cope with the difficulties of life, as it so often does with hyper-sensitive temperaments, notably with Lenau. To Wordsworth, nature, in the narrower sense, is, as she is to Goethe in the wider sense, a source of strength, and enables him only the better to deal with men. He deprecates morbidly turning from life to revel in the solitude of nature (*cf. Lines left upon a Seat in a Yew-tree*). We may therefore say without exaggeration that Wordsworth's idea of serenity is original and thoroughly healthy, and we may add that, to men like Wordsworth and Goethe, nature meant infinitely more than she did to Byron, Lenau, Shelley, and the rest, in spite of all their keen sensitiveness to the beauties of landscape.

V

When we look upon the pictures of nature which Lenau paints, we cannot refuse the artist our profound admiration, and must admit his ability to unroll before us fascinating canvases. The overwhelming sublimity of the Alpine world rises before our eyes, foaming torrents fret their way through jagged rocks, careering glooms fill the angry sky, or else the light of the setting sun caresses this glorious landscape with its parting benediction; again, nature wrapped in the brilliant and fragrant garb of spring is brought before us: roses and nightingales and all the intoxicating charms of the young spring fill her with bewildering joyousness, or, more frequently, curse-laden, she decays in autumnal glory.

Perfect serenity in nature our artist rarely, if ever, knows; he frequently reminds us of Salvator Rosa or of Ruysdael, although he is more powerful than they; but he has little in common with Claude Lorrain, Corot, or Daubigny.

Lenau is one of the very greatest landscapists in words; yet we should have to challenge any claim on his part to a place in the very front rank of artists; for the highest art implies control. His emotions are so violent that he at times offends by lack of taste. "Vivifications" occur, the absurdity of which is palpable: Lenau, like so many of his contemporaries, notably Heine, cannot quite overcome a native tendency to hysteria. This violence of emotion and the morbidity so closely connected with it hide from his view many phenomena in landscape which calmer souls, like Goethe and Wordsworth and others, though as appreciative as he of nature's grandeur, have interpreted with eminent artistic success. Lastly, it must be conceded that Lenau's eye is not sharp. At times, to be sure, he will see details with admirable correctness, but in general the exactness of vision introduced by a scientific age is foreign to him. Goethe's superiority becomes the more evident when we remember that he possessed the trained eye long before it was a common gift; Tennyson is a splendid proof of the great advantage gained even for art by the modern scientific spirit. The world has become none the less lovely; it has only grown in wealth and fulness.

But to insist on a great artist's failings rather than on his points of superiority is essentially bad criticism. We should do great wrong were we to detract from our enjoyment of Lenau's excellences by pondering his faults. And he has excellences which amply make up for his shortcomings. For Lenau could boast the finest feeling for "Stimmung;" the moods of nature appealed to him as they perhaps never did to anyone else. This sensitiveness enabled him with consummate skill to choose the proper nature background for human action. In hundreds of passages this gift appears, but it shows to best advantage in *Faust* and in *Don Juan*. In *Faust*, the drama of ambition and of "Weltschmerz," the ocean roars and surges in the background; in *Don Juan*, the drama of passion, the hero is constantly associated with the sensuous witchery of spring, with forests filled with passion-haunted animals and with

sense-benumbing fragrance. To Lenau, furthermore, nature is a living creature; she seems, in a sense, nearer to him than she does even to most modern poets. Spring appears to him as a young boy bounding upon the world with a joyous leap; the ocean, a murderer criminally indifferent to the harm he does. Yet Lenau rarely deals with nature independently, but rather looks for points in common between the phenomena of human life and those of outdoor nature; and although he is not always fortunate in this method, he at times establishes striking parallelisms. Nor must we overlook that, with all his emotional violence, Lenau never enjoys painting landscapes after the manner of Brueghel; he is always realistic, and does not even attempt to describe scenery with which he is unacquainted. Even in *Savonarola*, *Die Albigenser*, and *Don Juan* the landscape has almost always a northern character.

Let us, furthermore, not forget that our poet was gifted with the keenest possible ear, and reveled in the various sounds of nature in a fashion denied even most moderns; and also that the fragrance with which nature is filled during parts of the year probably never more strongly affected any poet than it did Lenau. Rückert, Heine, Shelley, and Keats are like him in this respect, whereas Wordsworth was blunt in that direction.

Even the severest criticism, then, must award Lenau an exalted position among nature poets; no one ever loved nature more genuinely, to few did she so unreservedly reveal her dazzling charms, and not a single poet so far has with greater mastery interpreted the uplifting beauties of Alpine scenery. Lastly, he must be regarded as the best exponent of the attitude toward nature which prevailed in literature (except in the maturer works of Goethe and of Wordsworth) since the last decades of the eighteenth century down to about the middle of the nineteenth.

NOTE 1.—While this essay was in press I procured Niendorf's *Lenau in Schwaben*. The book contains nothing additional of vital importance in connection with this study. Only the following passages should not be left unrecorded:

Lenau once said (p. 119): "Ueber alle Natur, über alle Kunst geht Menschenwort, das warme, lebendige, und Menschenherz!"

Again, he once claimed (p. 122): "Nichts Landleben für den Dichter—er bedarf Reibungen, Konflikte!"

He once spoke of Swabian scenery as "heimlich, hübsch, bescheiden," and added he never cared to see Switzerland, "weil ich mir nicht wollte meine heimatlichen Gegenden [Austria, of course] verleiden lassen" (p. 196).

At one time Lenau spoke with great admiration of the Black Forest (p. 207).

Lenau enjoyed barren mountains better than wooded ones (p. 211).

NOTE 2.—While these sheets were going to press there came to my notice two publications of which I must here take cognizance:

THEODOR GESKY, *Lenau als Naturdichter*. Litterar-historische Abhandlung, dem Andenken Lenaus zu seinem 100. Geburtstage, 13. August 1902, gewidmet. Leipzig, 1902.

This little treatise shows much appreciation of Lenau as a poet of nature, but is extremely

incomplete, taking no note of the dramas and epics. The whole treatment is exceedingly general and fails to connect Lenau with the great literary movement of his time. The author's knowledge of the history of the nature-sense is far from satisfactory. He seems never to have heard of Biese, and, according to him, Christianity was the most important force in bringing about the modern appreciation of landscape!

EDUARD CASTLE, *Nikolaus Lenau*. Zur Jahrhundertfeier seiner Geburt. Leipzig, 1902.

This excellent monograph, the best statement we have of Lenau's intellectual development, deals very little—too little—with his treatment of landscape. On p. 34 the author points out, however, how much Lenau, as a poet of nature, has in common with the romantic school in Germany and with Heine, and how different are the methods of modern authors like Storm and Liliencron.

**THE MODERN GERMAN RELATIVES, “DAS” AND
“WAS”**

CONCERNING THE MODERN GERMAN RELATIVES, "DAS" AND "WAS," IN CLAUSES DEPENDENT UPON SUB- STANTIVIZED ADJECTIVES

STARR WILLARD CUTTING

LINES 2998 ff. of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*:

Wenn an das Gute,
Das ich zu thun vermeine, gar zu nah
Was gar zu Schlimmes grenzt, so thu' ich lieber
Das Gute nicht, etc.

are made by Professor George O. Curme, in his edition of the play (Macmillan, 1899), the subject of the following comment:

Present usage requires here *Was* instead of *Das*. Throughout the eighteenth century *Das* was used with reference to a whole sentence, also after *das, alles, etwas, vieles, manches, das Gute, das Beste*, etc., where we now employ *Was*.

To test the correctness of this statement of current doctrine, in its application to adjectives used as the antecedents of relative pronouns, was the original purpose of this investigation.

A glance at the historical development of the German relative reveals the following facts: The use of *das* as relative pronoun is clearly derived from the earlier demonstrative use of the same. Abundant Old High German and Middle High German sentences, some of which are quoted by Oskar Erdmann in his *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, § 96, show the transition from the earlier paratactic to the later syntactic construction. The psychological shift of view-point, registered in the changed function of the word, persists even to the present day, as is shown, for instance, in the rapid glide in the language of everyday life from the demonstrative to the relative force of the same word (*der, die, das*), or *vice versa*.¹

The use of *was*, first as an indefinite and later as an interrogative pronoun, is a common feature of Old High German and Middle High German syntax.² The early development of a relative pronoun out of the demonstrative *das* (*der, die*), already alluded to, doubtless favored the comparatively late use of *was* (*wer*) as a relative. At any rate, the free use of the latter is derived from the combination of indefinite *waz* (*wer*) with the particle *sô*.³ In the classical period of Middle High German these relatives, *waz, wer*, still have the concessive force of English relatives compounded with *soever*. Not until the first half of the fourteenth century does the

¹ Cf. "Es war einmal ein König, der hatte eine Tochter, die so schön war, dass, etc."

² Cf. ERDMANN, *loc. cit.*, § 97.

³ Cf. ERDMANN, *loc. cit.*, § 99; GUSTAV NECKEL, *Die germanischen Relativpartikeln* (Diss., Berlin, 1900); J. MINOR, *PBB.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 477 ff.

initial *s*, representing the original *sô*, drop away and the remaining *waz* (*wer*) become a generalizing relative. The original indefinite meaning of this pronoun has never since entirely disappeared.

The modern relative *welches* is the result of the fusion of the Old High German interrogative *hwelth* and the correlative *hweolth* (corresponding to the correlative *solth sulth*). While still retaining in certain connections its older interrogative and correlative functions, it gradually assumed the office of relative by the side of *das*. It shared with the latter in the eighteenth century the office of a generalizing as well as particularizing relative pronoun.⁴

Concerning the modern use of these words Erdmann says, *loc. cit.*, § 99:

Was als Nom. und Akk., dazu in vorangestelltem Relativsatze auch *wessen*, keine Dativform; wol aber die Präpositionsverbindungen *wofür*, *worauf*, *worüber*, *wovon*, u. s. w., bezieht sich nur auf ein alleinstehendes Neutrum eines Pronomens, oder eines Adjektivums, nicht aber auf ein mit *der* verbundenes Substantiv. Der Relativsatz kann allgemeine Geltung haben (*was* = *alles was*) oder eine bestimmt abgegrenzte Sache umschreiben (*was* = *dasjenige was*) . . . Für all diese Fälle ist relatives *das*, *dessen* jetzt gewöhnlich ausgeschlossen, ebenso *welches*.

He then gives the following illustration: "*Alles (Weniges, Vieles, Nichts, Schönes, Neues) was er sah.*"

Hermann Paul (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1897, p. 92) agrees with Erdmann as to the derivation of the relative *das* from the earlier demonstrative pronoun, and says:

In this [the relative function of *das*], too, the use of the cases was reduced by *daran*, *dabei*, etc., now by their substitutes *woran*, *wobei*, etc. It is in line with this substitution that *was* has come into use in place of the older *das*, to relate to a whole sentence, or to *das*, *alles*, *etwas*, *vieles*, *manches*, *genug*, *das Gute*, *das Beste*, etc. In the eighteenth century *das* was still customary.

He repeats substantially the same remarks on p. 543, by way of comment upon the modern extension of the use of *was*. His words are:

In modern speech *was* has steadily encroached upon territory originally belonging to *das*. It follows *das*, *etwas*, and substantivized adjectives: *alles*, *vieles*, *einiges*, *das Gute*, *das Beste*, *was*. Luther already shows instances of this extension of the use of *was*. Cf. *zu dem, was diese wider dich zeugen*. However, *das* prevails in the eighteenth century.

Neither Erdmann nor Paul calls attention to any qualitative difference between modern *das Gute, was* and *das Gute, das*. Both confine their attention to the relative extent of the two locutions and emphasize a numerical encroachment of *das Gute, was* upon territory earlier occupied by *das Gute, das*. Unlike Paul, Erdmann goes so far (*loc. cit.*, § 99) as to state that "for all these cases" (including substantivized adjectives as antecedents) the relative *das, dessen* is now usually inadmissible. This tallies with the substance of Professor Curme's note, already quoted.

Karl Gustav Andresen discusses the modern use of the relative after nouns, pronouns, and substantivized adjectives on pp. 323 f. of his *Sprachgebrauch und*

⁴ Cf. MINOR, *loc. cit.*, and HERMANN PAUL, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 540 f.

Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen (7. Auflage, Leipzig, 1892). On p. 325 he disposes of the question, as far as it relates to substantivized adjectives, by saying:

Während *was* auf die unbestimmten substantivischen Pronomina und Zahlwörter bezogen wird, sowie auf die substantivischen Adjektiva nach allen drei Komparationsstufen, z. B., "Er preiset das Höchste, das Beste, was das Herz sich wünscht, was der Sinn begehrt (Schiller)," ist diese Beziehung dem persönlichen *wer* untersagt, etc.

He nowhere mentions *das* as an admissible alternative for *was* in the construction in question, and seems, therefore, to agree substantially with Erdmann.

Theodor Matthias says, on p. 10 of his *Sprachleben und Sprachschaden* (Leipzig, 1902):

Das Neutrum *was* findet nämlich im substantivischen Neutrum aller Adjektive und Pronomen ein hinlänglich Allgemeines, um auch darauf hinweisen zu können: Das Gute, *was* (doch auch *das*) darin liegt, etc.

A fair inference from his words seems to be that *was* is the prevailing and *das* the exceptional usage. They contain, at any rate, no hint of any psychological difference between the two forms.

Friedrich Blatz discusses in the second part of his *Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik*, pp. 827 f. and 833 f., the historical development and present status of the subject of our inquiry. He repeats the views of Erdmann and Paul as to the late origin and slow spread of the relative *was* as competitor of the earlier *das*, and notes the prevailing use of the latter still in the eighteenth century, even when referring to indefinite pronominal or clausal antecedents. As to present usage, he agrees with Becker in assigning to relative clauses with *das* an adjective, to those with *was* a substantive, character, with an occasional interchange of rôles according to some principle that he fails to make clear. He perceives what the others, already quoted, fail to notice, or at least fail to mention: that there is a qualitative difference between *das Gute, was* and *das Gute, das*. The validity of his categories of substantive and adjective clauses will be tested presently in the light of my examples.

Daniel Sanders says in his *Sprachbriefe*, p. 370, Art. 4:

Auf die mit Flexion substantivisch gebrauchten sächlichen Adjektiva und hinzeigenden und unbestimmten Pronomina folgt dem überwiegenden Sinne der Allgemeinheit gemäss nach dem heutigen Gebrauch zumeist das Relativpronomen *was*. Doch kann hier in einzelnen Fällen auch *das* zuweilen *welches* vollberechtigt sein, vgl. z. B. in sorgfältiger Unterscheidung: "Ich verzeihe ihm das Böse, *was* er mir zugefügt hat und künftig noch zufügen wird, in dankbarer Erinnerung an das Gute, *das (welches)* er mir früher erwiesen hat." Hier bezeichnet *das Böse* allgemein eine ganze Klasse, eine Gesamtheit von Unbilden . . . und daran schliesst sich ganz richtig als Relativpronomen das allgemeine *was*, dagegen ist *das Eine Gute* eine bestimmte Wohlthat, auf die sich ganz richtig das vereinzelnde Relativpronomen *das* oder *welches* bezieht.

Sanders recognizes, then, a qualitative difference between the "generalizing" *was* and the "particularizing" (*vereinzelnde*) *das (welches)*; he also affirms that the former is, according to today's usage, the preferred (*folgt . . . zumeist*) relative after

substantivized neuter adjectives. Each of these views will receive further consideration after an examination of the examples, which I have collected for the purpose of this investigation.⁵

The writers chosen for this purpose—Hauptmann, Heyse, Keller, Meyer, Nietzsche, Raabe, Schopenhauer, Spielhagen, Sudermann, and Wildenbruch—were selected, in general, because of their representative character, as able exponents of modern German prose style. Nietzsche and Schopenhauer were included in the list and made centrally important, measured by the bulk of their writings examined, for two principal reasons: first, because of their reputation as masters of the formal resources of the German language, and, second, because of the presumable frequency and accuracy with which professional philosophers would employ the locution under consideration.

The examples have been collected from a total of seven thousand three hundred and sixty-eight pages, distributed among the writers of the group as follows:

Hauptmann, 136; Heyse, 841; Keller, 310; Meyer, 466; Nietzsche, 1,296; Raabe, 320; Schopenhauer, 3,117; Spielhagen, 480; Sudermann, 292; Wildenbruch, 110. They may be conveniently arranged, for reasons that will become apparent as we proceed, under the following heads:

I. *Was*-clauses:

- a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- b) After positives or comparatives.

II. *Das*- (*welches*-) clauses:

- a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- b) After positives or comparatives.

A continuous numbering under each of these four rubrics will facilitate reference to individual examples.

Fifteen examples (II a, 10, 21, 22, 23; II b, 1, 48, 50, 52, 57, 71, 80, 119, 129, 132, 135), which I have classed with the *das*- (*welches*-) clauses, contain, in place of the regular relative pronoun, various compounds of *wo*- and *da*- that are easily recognizable as substitutes for the particularizing relative. Adding to this group one instance (II b, 10) of the neuter personal pronoun with the particle *wie*, we have a total of sixteen substitute clauses, whose clearly determinative meaning fully warrants the classification adopted. The distribution of these exceptional clauses among the writers examined is as follows: Heyse: II b, 1, 10. Nietzsche: II a, 10; II b, 48. Raabe: II b, 50. Schopenhauer: II a, 21, 22, 23; II b, 52, 57, 71, 80, 119, 129, 132, 135.

We may now pass in review a complete list of the examples collected, which will become the basis of the subsequent discussion.

⁵ Mr. Eduard Prokosch, of the University of Chicago, has rendered me valuable assistance in gathering this material.

I a

"WAS"-CLAUSES AFTER SUPERLATIVES (OR "ALLES" OR "EINZIG")

PAUL HETSE:

Das Mädchen von Treppi (Novellen, II, 5. Aufl., Berlin, 1888).

- 1 das Einzige,
- was*
- bleibt (p. 16, l. 13 f. bottom).

Kinder der Welt, I (14. Aufl., Wilh. Hertz, Berlin, 1892).

- 2 das Einzige,
- was*
- übrig bleibt (p. 43, l. 15 f. top).

- 3 das Meiste,
- was*
- die Leute so sagen (p. 86, l. 13 f. t.).

- 4 all das Andere,
- was*
- sich alle wünschen (p. 86, l. 17 f. t.).

- 5 von dem Besten,
- was*
- in ihr sein mag (p. 119, l. 6 f. b.).

- 6 das Beste,
- was*
- in mir ist (p. 119, l. 4 f. b.).

- 7 das Höchste,
- was*
- wir erreichen können (p. 125, l. 17 f. t.).

- 8 das Einzige,
- was*
- sie gesprochen hatte (p. 256, l. 4 f. b.).

- 9 Das Günstigste,
- was*
- ich zu hoffen habe (p. 294, l. 15 f. t.).

- 10 das Einzige,
- was*
- mir noch bleibt (p. 295, l. 10 f. b.).

- 11 das Ärgste,
- was*
- ihnen angethan wurde (p. 335, l. 11 f. t.).

Kinder der Welt, II (same ed.).

- 12 das Beste,
- was*
- sie haben (p. 28, l. 2 f. t.).

- 13 alles Grosse,
- was*
- ich sonst liebgewonnen habe (p. 62, l. 7 f. t.).

- 14 das Schnödeste und Gemeinste,
- was*
- Menschen einander geben können (p. 108, l. 5 f. t.).

- 15 das Letzte,
- was*
- von seinen Lippen kam (p. 173, l. 3 f. b.).

- 16 das Erste,
- was*
- er that (p. 257, l. 5 f. b.).

- 17 das Einzige,
- was*
- jetzt, etc. (p. 276, l. 18 f. b.).

Die Pfadfinderin (Wke., Bd. VI, Wilh. Hertz, 12. Aufl., Berlin, 1890).

- 18 das Letzte,
- was*
- mich zurückhielt (p. 373, l. 7 f. b.).

GOTTFRIED KELLER:

Die Leute von Seldwyla, I (12. Aufl., Wilh. Hertz, Berlin, 1892).

- 19 das Meiste,
- was*
- es gab (p. 36, l. 12 f. b.).

- 20 alles Mögliche und Unmögliches,
- was*
- in dem Vorfalle liegen mochte (p. 43, l. 13 f. b.).

- 21 das einzige Feste,
- was*
- noch an der Puppe bestand (p. 80, l. 2 f. b.).

CONRAD FERDINAND MEYER:

Angela Borgia (Haessel, Leipzig, 1891).

- 22 das Einzige,
- was*
- daran rein geblieben war (p. 87, l. 4 f. b.).

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE:

Also sprach Zarathustra (3. Aufl., Leipzig, 1894).

- 23 dein Bestes und Redlichstes,
- was*
- ich an dir ehre (p. 369, l. 7 f. t.).

- 24 das Erste,
- was*
- ich euch anbiete (p. 403, l. 13 f. b.).

Die fröhliche Wissenschaft (neue Ausg., E. W. Fritsch, Leipzig, 1887).

- 25 das Schönste,
- was*
- ich zum Ruhme Shakespeares zu sagen wüsste (p. 118, l. 11 f. t.).

- 26 das Heiligste und Mächtigste,
- was*
- die Welt bisher besass (p. 154, l. 7 f. t.).

Jenseits von Gut und Böse (4. Aufl., C. G. Naumann, Leipzig, 1895).

- 27 das Schwerste,
- was*
- zum Behufe der Metaphysik unternommen werden konnte (p. 22, l. 8 f. t.).

- 28 das Letzte,
- was*
- von der Erde feststand (p. 24, l. 2 f. b.).

- 29 das Beste,
- was*
- man ist (p. 222, l. 3 f. t.).

- 30 das Merkwürdigste, *was* Richard Wagner geschaffen hat (p. 235, next to last line).
 31 das Sicherste, *was* ich über mich weiss (p. 268, l. 8 f. t.).
 WILHELM RAABE:
Die Akten des Vogelsangs (Otto Janke, Berlin, 1896).
 32 von dem Selbstverständlichsten, *was* vorgenommen werden kann (p. 158, l. 4 f. t.).
 ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER:
Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik (Reclam, 2801-5).
 33 das Erste, *was* ihn aufhält (p. 616, l. 9 f. b.).
Parerga und Paralipomena, I (Reclam, 2821-5).
 34 das Schlimmste, *was* einem Staate widerfahren kann (p. 204, l. 5 f. t.).
 35 das Letzte, *was* in Thätigkeit gerät (p. 285, l. 11 f. b.).
Parerga und Paralipomena, II (Reclam, 2821-5).
 36 das Erste, *was* sie zu betrachten hat (p. 25, l. 12 f. t.).
 37 das Einzige, *was* es vom Ding an sich trennt (p. 105, last line).
 38 das Höchste, *was* der Mensch erlangen kann (p. 336, l. 3 f. t.).
 39 das Herrlichste, *was* je die Welt gesehen (p. 495, l. 4 f. t.).
 40 das Letzte, *was* sie herausgebracht haben (p. 533, l. 18 f. t.).
Über den Satz vom zureichenden Grunde (Reclam, 2801-5).
 41 alles das Viele und Grosse, *was* das menschliche Leben vor dem tierischen auszeichnet (p. 113, l. 4 f. b.).
 42 das Erste, *was* er thut (p. 73, l. 1 f. t.).
Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, I (Reclam, 2761-5).
 43 das Erste, *was* bemerkt werden musste (p. 87, l. 18 f. t.).
Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, II (Reclam, 2781-5).
 44 das Einzige, *was* zu lernen ist (p. 99, l. 3 f. t.).
 45 alles Ersinnliche, *was* sich dafür sagen lässt (p. 138, l. 6 f. t.).
 46 das Einzige, *was* jemals dasein könnte (p. 197, last line).
 47 das Allerrealste, *was* wir kennen (p. 412, l. 3 f. b.).
 FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN:
Was die Schwalbe sang (Leipzig, 1885).
 48 das Einzige, *was* ich für sie thun kann (p. 140, l. 10 f. t.).
 49 das Schlimmste, *was* seine Phantasie sich ausgemalt (p. 176, l. 9 f. t.).
 HERMANN SUDERMANN:
Frau Sorge (45. Aufl., Cotta, Stuttg., 1899).
 50 das Einzige, *was* sie können (p. 126, l. 6 f. t.).
 51 das Letzte, *was* er auf der Welt besass (p. 219, l. 9 f. t.).
 52 das ist das Mindeste, *was*, etc. (p. 224, l. 6 f. t.).
 ERNST VON WILDENBRUCH:
Kinderthänen (7. Aufl., Carl Freund, Berlin, 1890).
 53 das Äusserste, *was* ihm hätte begegnen können (p. 22, l. 8 f. b.).

I b

"WAS"-CLAUSES AFTER POSITIVES OR COMPARATIVES

GERHART HAUPTMANN:

Vor Sonnenaufgang (7. Aufl., S. Fischer, Berlin, 1899).

- 1 das Wenige, *was* du ihr noch übrig lässt (p. 182, l. 5 f. t.).

PAUL HEYSE:

Kinder der Welt, I (loc. cit.).

- 2 das Wenige, *was* Sie mir da mitteilen (p. 50, l. 4 f. t.).
- 3 übers Moralische, *was* einem doch auch nicht gleichgiltig ist (p. 79, last line).
- 4 etwas Schönes, *was* ihn mitansteckte (p. 140, l. 5 f. t.).
- 5 das Criminelle, *was* sie hat ausgehen lassen (p. 210, l. 3 f. t.).
- 6 etwas Ungeschicktes sagen, *was* dich in Verlegenheit brächte (p. 247, l. 8 f. t.).
- 7 etwas Gewisses, *was* einem nicht weiter in Frage kommt (p. 251, l. 7 f. b.).

Kinder der Welt, II (loc. cit.).

- 8 das Notwendige, *was* Ihr Formular Ihnen vorschreibt (p. 31, l. 5 f. t.).
- 9 so viel Schönes, *was* selbst . . . mir zugänglich wäre (p. 69, l. 3 f. t.).
- 10 das Wenige, *was* ich mit Malen verdiene (p. 70, l. 7 f. t.).
- 11 das Bittere, *was* zwischen Sie getreten (p. 179, l. 18 f. b.).
- 12 manches Schwere, *was* ich hier erlebt habe (p. 316, l. 5 f. b.).

Die Pfadfinderin (loc. cit.).

- 13 noch nicht das Halbe, *was* ich auszustehen habe (p. 378, l. 10 f. t.).

GOTTFRIED KELLER:

Die Leute von Seldwyla, I (loc. cit.).

- 14 etwas sehr Lustiges, *was* ihn weiter nicht berühre (p. 120, l. 7 f. t.).

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE:

Also sprach Zarathustra (loc. cit.).

- 15 das Dritte, *was* ich hörte (p. 162, l. 5 f. b.).

Die fröhliche Wissenschaft (loc. cit.).

- 16 das Selbe, *was* ich thue (p. 191, last line).

Die Geburt der Tragödie (3. Aufl., Naumann, Leipzig, 1894).

- 17 etwas der dämonischen warnenden Stimme Ähnliches, *was* ihn zu diesen Übungen drängte (p. 102, l. 14 f. t.).

Götzen-Dämmerung (2. Aufl., Naumann, Leipzig).

- 18 das Andre, *was* ich nicht hören mag (p. 68, l. 10 f. t.).

WILHELM RAABE:

Die Akten des Vogelsangs (loc. cit.).

- 19 das Gute, *was* man seiner Zeit genossen hat (p. 196, l. 7 f. t.).

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER:

Parerga und Paralipomena, I (loc. cit.).

- 20 manches, *was* sie nie vergessen wird (p. 158, l. 7 f. t.).
- 21 das Selbe, *was* die Landesreligion auch lehrt (p. 166, l. 19 f. t.).

Parerga und Paralipomena, II (loc. cit.).

- 22 das bloß Erlernte, *was* sich in Büchern wiederauffinden lässt (p. 62, l. 12 f. t.).
- 23 das Wenige, *was* ich über den Gegenstand noch beizubringen habe (p. 196, l. 10 f. t.).
- 24 das Zweite, *was* das Christentum zu verdrängen hatte (p. 380, l. 5 f. b.).
- 25 das Wenige und Wirkliche, *was* sie wirklich gedacht haben (p. 547, l. 2 f. t.).

Über den Willen in der Natur (Reclam, 2801-5).

- 26 das schlechthin Gegebene, *was* der Intellekt . . . ist (p. 271, l. 5 f. t.).
- 27 auf der schmalen Basis des Wenigen, *was* an der Magie Wahres gewesen sein mag (p. 304, l. 16 f. b.).
- 28 etwas Anderes, *was* nicht Erscheinung ist (p. 306, l. 17 f. b.).

Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, I (loc. cit.).

- 29 das Wenige, *was* man davon weiss (p. 147, l. 8 f. t.).
 30 dieses Einzelne, *was* in jenem Strom ein verschwindend kleiner Teil war (p. 252, l. 2 f. t.).
 31 das Schöne, *was* sie vorzeigt (p. 292, l. 17 f. t.).
 32 das Selbe, *was* eben als Leben sich objektiviert (p. 294, l. 9 f. t.).
 33 das individuell Einzelne in ihnen, *was* eigentlich das Historische ausmacht (p. 308, l. 9 f. b.).
 34 das Selbe, *was* sie blind wollte (p. 399, l. 5 f. b.).

Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, II (loc. cit.).

- 35 Unter dem Vielen, *was* die Welt so rätselhaft und bedenklich macht (p. 10, l. 15 f. t.).
 36 das Spezielle, *was* den Inhalt der Arithmetik und Geometrie ausmacht (p. 60, l. 19 f. b.).
 37 das Gedachte, *was* geschaut wurde (p. 490, l. 4 f. t.).

FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN:

Was die Schwalbe sang (loc. cit.).

- 38 aus dem Wenigen, *was* Gotthold mitgeteilt (p. 290, l. 8 f. b.).
 39 Eines, *was* sie nicht konnte (p. 251, l. 7 f. b.).

ERNST VON WILDENBRUCH:

Kinderthränen (loc. cit.).

- 40 etwas Geringschätziges, *was* mich verdross (p. 41, l. 9 f. b.).
 41 etwas Anderes, *was* ihn dort hinunterflüchten liess (p. 79, l. 5 f. b.).

II a

"DAS"- ("WELCHES")- CLAUSES AFTER SUPERLATIVES (OR "ALLES" OR "EINZIG")

PAUL HEYSE:

Kinder der Welt, I (loc. cit.).

- 1 das Höchste und Erhabenste, *das* wir Gott nennen (p. 218, l. 14 f. b.).
Pfadfinderin (loc. cit.).
 2 all das Erfreuliche, *das* da vor mir ausgebreitet war (p. 390, l. 2 f. b.).

GOTTFRIED KELLER:

Die Leute von Seldwyla, I (loc. cit.).

- 3 das Höchste und Beste auf der Welt, an *welches* er . . . sein Heil setzte (p. 288, l. 13 f. b.).

CONRAD FERDINAND MEYER:

Angela Borgia (loc. cit.).

- 4 das All' und Einzige, *das* ich war (p. 95, l. 9 f. t.).

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE:

Also sprach Zarathustra (loc. cit.).

- 5 das Grösste, *das* ihr erleben könnt (p. 10, l. 9 f. b.).
 6 nach dem Verwundbarsten, *das* ich besass (p. 157, l. 15 f. b.).
 7 wehe allem Lebendigen, *das* ohne Streit . . . leben wollte (p. 167, l. 8 f. t.).
 8 alles des Unzulänglichen (= alles Unzulängliche), *das* durchaus Ereignis sein soll (p. 184, l. 13 f. b.).
 9 Ich lehrte sie an der Zukunft schaffen und alles, *das* war, schaffend zu erlösen (p. 286, l. 9 f. t.).

Die fröhliche Wissenschaft (loc. cit.).

- 10 das Höchste, *woran* (= an dem) das Volk billigerweise sein Wertmass hat (p. 332, l. 8 f. b.).
Die Geburt der Tragödie (loc. cit.).
- 11 das Erste und Allgemeine, *das* deshalb auch mehrere Objektivationen an sich erleiden kann (p. 46, l. 18 f. b.).
- 12 alles Böse, *das* vom starken Willen bedingt ist (p. 69, l. 16 f. t.).
Jenseits von Gut und Böse (loc. cit.).
- 13 ihr Verborgenes und Innerlichstes, *das* sich gerne dem Gehorsam entziehen möchte (p. 88, l. 12 f. t.).
- 14 das Schlimmste und Gefährlichste, *dessen* ein Gelehrter fähig (p. 153, l. 12 f. t.).

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER:

Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik (loc. cit.).

- 15 das letzte Bedeutende, *das* in der Ethik geschehen (p. 495, l. 6 f. t.).
• *Parerga und Paralipomena, I (loc. cit.).*
- 16 bei einem Letzten, *das* einen fundamentalen Erklärungsgrund abgäbe (p. 132, l. 3 f. b.).
- 17 das Absurdeste, *welches* sie je gesehen (p. 190, l. 18 f. t.).
- 18 das Vortrefflichste, *das* je die Welt gesehen (p. 220, l. 9 f. t.).
Über den Willen in der Natur (loc. cit.).
- 19 das letzte Erkennbare, über *welches* hinaus die Natur sich seinem Forschen entzieht (p. 234, l. 18 f. b.).
- 20 aus dem Bekanntesten, *das* es giebt (p. 340, l. 7 f. t.).
Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, I (loc. cit.).
- 21 das Allerernsteste, als *wovon* (= als von *welchem*) alles abhängt (p. 348, l. 11 f. t.). Compare with this the same author's usage (II b, 59) in the following: dem empirisch Gegebenen, als von *welchem* so etwas zu behaupten lächerlich gewesen wäre.
Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, II (loc. cit.).
- 22 ihr Eigentümlichstes, *wodurch* (= durch *das [welches]*) ihr der entscheidende Schritt möglich wird (p. 210, l. 4 f. b.).
- 23 zum Ersten und Ursprünglichen, *wovon* (= von *dem [welchem]*) alles ausgeht (p. 314, l. 8 f. b.).
- 24 das uns am genauesten Bekannte, *welches* zu allem andern die Erklärung giebt (p. 343, last line).

II b

"DAS"- ("WELCHES")- CLAUSES AFTER POSITIVES OR COMPARATIVES

PAUL HEYSE:

Kinder der Welt, I (loc. cit.).

- 1 das Unbegreifliche, *woran* (= an *welchem [dem]*) ich selber noch herumrätsle (p. 15, l. 17 f. t.).
- 2 etwas Neues, *das* nichts Menschlichem gleicht (p. 116, l. 5 f. t.).
- 3 etwas Apartes, *das* gute Gründe hätte, sein Incognito zu wahren (p. 190, l. 5 f. t.).
- 4 das Unklare, *das* in dieser Vorstellung liegen mag (p. 222, l. 4 f. b.).
- 5 all jenem Grossen verwandt, *das* man . . . erfahren hat (p. 252, l. 8 f. b.).
- 6 das unheimliche Weisse, *das* sich nicht regte (p. 292, l. 2 f. t.).

Kinder der Welt, II (loc. cit.).

- 7 ein Drittes, *das* nicht das Schlimmste wäre (p. 15, l. 3 f. t.).
- 8 vom Angelernten, bei *dem* mir nie wohl war (p. 63, first line).
- 9 etwas Unerwartetes, *das* mich erlösen möchte (p. 178, l. 13 f. b.).

Die Pfadfinderin (loc. cit.).

10 etwas Sachtes, Zartes und doch Mächtiges, *wie es* (= *das [welches]*) in dem Masse selten ist (p. 340, l. 17 f. b.).

11 etwas Weisses, *das* einem Kinde glich (p. 392, l. 12 f. b.).

GOTTFRIED KELLER:

Die Leute von Seldwyla, I (loc. cit.).

12 das Gleiche, *dessen* sie ihre Gegner anklagten (p. 194, l. 7 f. b.).

CONRAD FERDINAND MEYER:

Angela Borgia (loc. cit.).

13 das Schädliche und Unnütze, *das* uns widerspricht (p. 149, l. 5 f. b.).

14 um des Vielen willen, *das* du für Ferrara gethan hast (p. 150, l. 11 f. t.).

Die Versuchung des Pescara (H. Haessel, Leipzig, 1890).

15 das Unmögliche, *das* . . . nicht völlig unmöglich ist (p. 33, l. 14 f. t.).

16 Ähnliches, *das* ich damals nicht verstand (p. 218, l. 8 f. b.).

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE:

Also sprach Zarathustra (loc. cit.).

17-19 etwas, *das* überwunden werden muss (p. 9, l. 2 f. t.; p. 295, l. 15 f. t.; p. 384, last line).

20 das Erschreckliche, *das* jeden Mund stumm machte (p. 18, l. 10 f. t.).

21 das Böse, *das* aus dem Kampfe deiner Tugenden wächst (p. 46, l. 5 f. b.).

22 das Böse, *das* jetzt böse ist (p. 50, l. 15 f. t.).

23 Vieles, *das* diesem Volke gut hiess (p. 80, l. 8 f. t.).

24 das Eine, *das* mehr ist als die es schufen (p. 99, l. 2 f. t.).

25 Gutes und Böses, *das* unvergänglich wäre (p. 165, l. 4 f. t.).

26 etwas, *das* am Wege sass (p. 379, l. 6 f. t.).

27 das Unerbittliche, *das* in mir schweigt (p. 406, l. 12 f. b.).

28 Vieles, *das* mich lieben und hoffen macht (p. 414, l. 5 f. b.).

29 Manches, *das* am Tage nicht laut werden darf (p. 460, l. 6 f. t.).

Die fröhliche Wissenschaft (loc. cit.).

30 jenes Innere, von *dem* die Grossväter selbst noch nichts wussten (p. 37, l. 13 f. t.).

31 etwas Selbstloses, Harmloses . . . Unschuldiges, an *dem* die bösen Triebe nicht beteiligt seien (p. 66, l. 9 f. t.).

32 das Wirkende und Lebende selber, *das* so weit . . . geht (p. 78, l. 8 f. b.).

33 etwas ihnen ganz Verständliches, mit *dem* man schwätzen kann (p. 93, l. 10 f. t.).

34 das Erhabene und Entzückte, *dessen* manche Passionen fähig sind (p. 131, l. 11 f. b.).

35 das unsäglich Abgeleitete, Späte, Seltene, Zufällige, *das* wir auf der Kruste der Erde wahrnehmen (p. 137, l. 12 f. b.).

36 das Hässliche, *welches* sich nicht abtragen liess (p. 207, l. 10 f. b.).

37 wie viel Festes, an *dem* er nicht gerüttelt haben will (p. 268, l. 4 f. b.).

Die Geburt der Tragödie (loc. cit.).

38 das eine Lebendige, mit *dessen* Zeugungslust wir verschmolzen sind (p. 117, l. 5 f. b.).

Götzen-Dämmerung (loc. cit.).

39 etwas Anderes, *das* sich nur nicht ehrlicher zu benennen weiss (p. 26, l. 7 f. t.).

40 etwas Anderes, *das* mich erschreckt (p. 49, l. 17 f. b.).

41 Furcht vor dem Furchtbaren und Fragwürdigen, *das* er zeigt (p. 75, l. 6 f. t.).

Jenseits von Gut und Böse (loc. cit.).

42 das Zornige und Ehrfürchtige, *das* der Jugend eigen ist (p. 53, l. 9 f. t.).

43 etwas Höheres, Grösseres und Gründlich-Anderes, *das* nicht verkannt werden will (p. 66, first line).

- 44 nichts Derbes, Mächtiges, Auf-sich-Gestelltes, *das* Herr sein will (p. 156, l. 6 f. t.).
 45 das Goldene und Kalte, *welches* alle Dinge zeigen (p. 183, l. 14 f. t.).
 46 das täppische Zusammensuchen all des Sklavenhaften und Leibeigenen, *das* die Stellung
 des Weibes an sich gehabt hat (p. 202, l. 3 f. b.).
 47 Eins, *das* vom Besten und Schlimmsten zugleich ist (p. 222, l. 7 f. t.).
 48 das Zweite, *worauf* (= auf *das* [welches]) die Franzosen eine Überlegenheit über Europa
 begründen können (p. 230, l. 15 f. t.).
 49 etwas Unmitteilbares und Widerwilliges, *das* jeden Vorübergehenden kalt anbläst (p. 272,
 l. 5 f. b.).

WILHELM RAABE:

Die Akten des Vogelsangs (loc. cit.).

- 50 Einiges, *wobei* (= bei dem [welchem]) die dritten nur fremd wirken können (p. 252, l. 11 f. b.).
 51 ein Ganzes, von dem wir nicht zu trennen sind (p. 313, l. 3 f. b.).

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER:

Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik (loc. cit.).

- 52 ein schlechthin Gegebenes und Vorhandenes, *darüber* (= über *das* [welches]) er nicht
 hinaus kam (p. 400, l. 11 f. b.).
 53 ein ohne zureichende Gründe sich Entscheidendes, *dessen* Entschlüsse . . . ausfallen
 können (p. 421, first line).
 54 das Andere, *das* ohne Nötigung wirkt (p. 425, l. 18 f. t.). Compare this with I b, 18, in
 which grammatical indefiniteness triumphs over logical definiteness.
 55 das Gedruckte, *welches* wir lesen (p. 441, next to last line).
 56 nichts Sinnliches, als *welches* vom Leibe herrührte (p. 553, last line).
 57 mit etwas Anderem, *wonach* (= nach dem [welchem]) er geschätzt wird (p. 542, l. 11 f. b.).
 58 des Paradoxen, *welches* diese metaphysische Auslegung . . . haben muss (p. 654, next to
 last line).

Parerga und Paralipomena, I (loc. cit.).

- 59 dem empirisch Gegebenen, als von *welchem* so etwas zu behaupten lächerlich gewesen wäre
 (p. 49, l. 4 f. t.).
 60 das Reale hingegen, *welches* dem Dinge an sich selbst zukäme (p. 106, l. 9 f. b.).
 61 ein an sich selbst Seiendes, von dem sie ihren Bestand erhält (p. 110, l. 14 f. b.).
 62 ein Feststehendes, an *welchem* die Zeit . . . vorüberflösse (p. 120, l. 12 f. b.).
 63 das Wahre, *welches* . . . zu Grunde liegt (p. 123, l. 6 f. b.).
 64 zum wahrhaft Realen, in Folge *dessen* die . . . Welt ihr Dasein habe (p. 190, l. 9 f. t.).
 65 das Unverfälschte und an sich selbst dem Irrtum nicht Ausgesetzte, durch *welches* wir in
 das Wesen der Dinge dringen können (p. 192, l. 11 f. t.).
 66 das Metaphysische, *welches* . . . existirt (p. 238, l. 10 f. b.).
 67 etwas vom Subjekt ganz Unabhängiges, *welches* . . . durch sie erkannt wurde (p. 341,
 l. 4 f. b.).
 68 das Selbe sehen, *welches* alsdann sich objektiv konstituiert (p. 344, l. 14 f. t.).
 69 das Lächerliche, *welches* jeder Behauptung anklebt (p. 346, l. 17 f. t.).

Parerga und Paralipomena, II (loc. cit.).

- 70 das Subjektive als solches, *welches* daher nie Objekt werden konnte (p. 46, l. 17 f. t.).
 71 das Gleichmässige und Normale, *worauf* (= auf *das* [welches]) jenes . . . sich bezieht
 (p. 50, l. 6 f. t.).
 72 die Erkenntnis eines von ihm selbst Verschiedenen, *welches* . . . nur Erscheinung ist
 (p. 54, l. 14 f. b.).

- 73 das Primäre, *welches* überall zu finden sein mag (p. 83, first line).
 74 ein Inneres, *welches* kubischen Gehalt habe (p. 101, l. 16 f. t.).
 75 etwas rein Objektives, *das* unabhängig von mir existiert (p. 281, l. 15 f. b.).
 76 das Schlechte, von *welchem* es seinen Platz bereits eingenommen findet (p. 481, l. 5 f. t.).
 77 das Unvorsätzliche, Instinktive, *welches* man an den Werken des Genies bemerkt hat (p. 443, l. 7 f. t.).
 Ueber den Satz vom zureichenden Grunde (loc. cit.).
 78 das allen jenen Gestalten Gemeinsame, *welches* unser Satz besagt (p. 40, l. 17 f. t.).
 79 etwas Subjektives, *dessen* Veränderungen zum Bewusstsein gelangen (p. 66, l. 17 f. b.).
 80 das Dritte, *worauf* der Verstand die Empfindung in Anschauung umarbeitet (p. 80, first line).
 81 etwas ganz Unmittelbares, *welches* zu Stande kommt (p. 97, l. 14 f. t.).
 82 etwas von ihm Verschiedenes, *das* sein Grund genannt wird (p. 122, l. 5 f. t.).
 Ueber den Willen in der Natur (loc. cit.).
 83 das Metaphysische, aus *welchem* die Erfahrung zu erklären sei (p. 201, l. 7 f. t.).
 84 das Metaphysische, *welches* sie als ihre Grenze wahrnimmt (p. 204, l. 7 f. t.).
 85 dieses der Physik Unzugängliche und Unbekannte, bei *dem* ihre Forschungen enden (p. 204, l. 14 f. t.).
 86 etwas Analoges, *welches* die Zeitgenossen beschäftigt (p. 207, l. 9 f. b.).
 87 die erste Perception des Schädlichen, *welches* den kranken Willen veranlasst (p. 211, l. 14 f. b.).
 88 etwas Absurdes, *welches* die Lehre unhaltbar machte (p. 219, l. 16 f. t.).
 89 das Wesentliche und Primäre, *welches* in beiden der Wille ist (p. 222, l. 7 f. b.).
 90 etwas unwiderruflich Festgesetztes, *dessen* Unverwandelbarkeit ich der Beharrlichkeit der Materie vergleichen möchte (p. 251, l. 18 f. b.).
 91 das Primäre, *welches* doch das Sein des Dings ist (p. 267, l. 16 f. t.).
 92 ein Bedingtes, *dessen* Aussagen keine Giltigkeit haben können (p. 271, l. 16 f. t.).
 93 das rein Empirische, *welches* eben Erscheinung des Willens ist (p. 284, l. 11 f. b.).
 94 in dem wenigen Tatsächlichen, *welches* für die Existenz der Magie spricht (p. 311, l. 19 f. b.).
 Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, I (loc. cit.).
 95 Das unsäglich Rohe und Plumpe, *welches* aus der Hülle der Pretiosität hervorsieht (p. 23, l. 4 f. b.).
 96 das Vorstellende, *welches* er selbst ist (p. 33, l. 10 f. t.).
 97 in einem von der Vorstellung gänzlich Verschiedenen, *welches* nicht mit solchem Gegensatz behaftet ist (p. 68, l. 7 f. t.).
 98 jedes Lächerliche, *dessen* sich der Leser erinnert (p. 102, l. 8 f. t.).
 99 jenes Nämliche, *das* in uns seine Zwecke verfolgt (p. 173, l. 14 f. t.).
 100 das Allgemeine, *das* sich darin ausspricht (p. 308, l. 7 f. b.).
 101 das unmittelbar Gegebene, *welches* man daher sehr wohl verlassen darf (p. 319, l. 4 f. t.).
 102 ein gänzlich verschiedenes Anschauliches, in *welchem* das Ziel erreicht wird (p. 319, l. 6 f. t.).
 103 das Gegebene, *welches* sie durch ein Bild anschaulich machen will (p. 320, l. 16 f. t.).
 104 zum Verkehrten und Platten, *welches* ihm homogen ist (p. 325, l. 12 f. b.).
 105 das unaussprechlich Innige aller Musik, vermöge *dessen* sie als ein ganz vertrautes Paradies an uns vorüberzieht (p. 347, last line).
 106 etwas selbst schon im Leben Begriffenes und dazu Gehöriges, *dem* sein Gegensatz völlig das Gleichgewicht hält (p. 427, l. 10 f. b.).
 107 das Negative, *welches* eben das Recht ist (p. 446, l. 5 f. b.).
 108 das Positive, *welches* man unter dem Namen der Liebespflichten verstanden hat (p. 446, l. 4 f. b.).

- 109 alles Böse, *das* auf der Welt verübt wird (p. 457, l. 2 f. t.).
 110 etwas Anderes, *welches* uns erst dadurch zugänglich wird (p. 518, l. 9 f. b.).
 111 das Positive, *welches* man eben sucht (p. 524, l. 8 f. t.).
 Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, II (loc. cit.).
 112 das Bleibende darin, *welches* es zusammenhält, und ohne *welches* es so unzusammenhängend wäre (p. 27, l. 9 f. b.).
 113 das Einzelne, *welches* doch gerade das im Leben zu Behandelnde ist (p. 86, l. 13 f. t.).
 114 das Allgemeine, *welches* die Bücher mitteilen (p. 86, l. 9 f. b.).
 115 ein Reales, *welches* zwar nach der Strenge darunter gehört (p. 112, l. 19 f. t.).
 116 zu dem durch diesen gedachten Realen oder Anschaulichen, *welches* irgend eine Incongruenz an den Tag legt (p. 112, l. 11 f. b.).
 117 das den Urteilen Eigentümliche, *welches* die Notwendigkeit der Conclusion herbeiführt (p. 128, l. 13 f. b.).
 118 das Zusammenhaltende der beiden Prämissen, vermöge *dessen* sie Schlusskraft haben (p. 136, l. 7 f. t.).
 119 Weglassen alles Überflüssigen, *wozu* (= zu dem [welchem]) denn freilich ihre ganze Schreiberei gehört (p. 144, l. 16 f. b.).
 120 ein Ganzes, *welches* Bewegung und Bedeutung hat (p. 149, l. 8 f. b.).
 121 etwas ganz Empirisches, *welches* der äussern sinnlichen Erfahrung angehört (p. 151, l. 18 f. b.).
 122 dieses Unerklärliche, auf *welches* alle Erscheinungen . . . zurückgeführt werden (p. 205, l. 6 f. t.).
 123 jenes Unerklärliche, *welches* alle Erscheinungen durchzieht (p. 205, l. 12 f. t.).
 124 das Subjektive, mittelst *dessen*, ja in *welchem* allein jenes dasteht (p. 205, l. 8 f. b.).
 125 das Ganzen und Allgemeinen, *welches* . . . nur desto rätselhafter sich darstellt (p. 206, l. 6 f. b.).
 126 ein von ihm Verschiedenes, *welches* erkannt wird (p. 233, l. 14 f. b.).
 127 das Wesentliche, Ursprüngliche, Perennierende, *dessen* Absterben das der Krone nach sich zieht (p. 234, l. 18 f. t.).
 128 das Exekutive, *welches* erst eintreten soll (p. 246, l. 2 f. t.).
 129 das Wesentliche, *darauf* (= auf das [welches]) es ankommt (p. 260, l. 13 f. b.).
 130 das Metaphysische unseres Wesens, *welches* die organischen Funktionen . . . voraussetzen (p. 281, l. 12 f. t.).
 131 nichts Fremdes, *das* als Gegenstand aufgefasst werden könnte (p. 320, l. 12 f. t.).
 132 das der Erkenntnis Vorhergängige, *wodurch* (= durch das [welches]) sie möglich wurde (p. 336, l. 9 f. b.).
 133 jenes ganz Unzugänglichen, *welches* wir mit dem Worte Naturkraft bezeichnen (p. 343, l. 20 f. t.).
 134 Viel *a priori* Erkennbares, *welches* . . . mit sich führt (p. 353, l. 13 f. t.).
 135 das Mechanische, *wohin* (= zu dem [welchem]), z. B., noch die Akustik gehört (p. 353, l. 19 f. t.).
 136 das absolut Träge, *welches* jedoch der Träger aller Formen ist (p. 353, l. 14 f. b.).
 137 das in allen Dingen Wesentliche, *welches* gerade das eigentlich Substantielle ist (p. 365, l. 9 f. b.).
 138 jenes so Vertraute, *welches* das Wort Wille bezeichnet (p. 373, l. 3 f. b.).
 139 das rein Objektive, *welches* den verschiedenen Anschauungen zu Grunde liegt (p. 439, l. 13 f. b.).
 146 ein geheimnisvolles Drittes, vermöge *dessen* so viele Pflanzen . . . Charaktere zeigen (p. 475, l. 12 f. t.).
 141 ein vollkommen Bestimmbares, *welches* sich durch Worte mitteilen lässt (p. 479, l. 11 f. t.).
 142 mit dem Einzelnen und Individuellen, *welches* unerschöpflich ist (516, l. 18 f. b.).

- 143 das Allgemeine, *dem* das Spezielle sich unterordnet (p. 516, l. 10 f. b.).
 144 das Allgemeine, *welches* identisch bleibt (p. 518, l. 8 f. t.).
 145 das Subjektive, *welches* bloss im Selbstbewusstsein besteht (p. 570, l. 13 f. t.).
 146 das Unmittelbare, durch *welches* die Welt vermittelt ist (p. 571, l. 19 f. b.).
 147 das Transcendentale, *welches* darzustellen, etc. (p. 628, l. 15 f. t.).
 148 das zu Erzeugende, in *welchem* der Typus erhalten werden soll (p. 633, l. 12 f. b.).

FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN:

Ultimo (Leipzig, 1885).

- 149 so ein bisschen Bedenkliches, *das* sich für den soliden Mann nicht schickt (p. 63, l. 12 f. t.).
 150 das Eine, *das* heute in der Predigt vorkam (p. 122, l. 14 f. t.).
Was die Schwalbe sang (*loc. cit.*).
 151 manches wertvolle Theologische, *das* ich gern gehabt hätte (p. 10, l. 4 f. t.).
 152 ein Hochheiliges, *das* in der Menschenbrust sicher wohnt (p. 25, l. 2 f. t.).
 153 das Furchtbarliche, mit *dem* er die Mutige eingeschüchtert (p. 251, l. 9 f. t.).
 154 das Unmögliche, vor *das* er sie gestellt (p. 251, l. 10 f. t.).

HERMANN SUDERMANN:

Frau Sorge (*loc. cit.*).

- 155 etwas Längliches, Rundes, *das* in Seidenpapier gefüllt war (p. 204, l. 4 f. t.).
 156 etwas Schwarzes, *das* mit Kränzen behangen war (p. 283, l. 5 f. b.).

A glance at the foregoing exhibit of material will at once show the reason for separating the superlative from the positive-comparative category in case of both *was*-clauses and *das*-clauses. The ratio of *was* to *das* (*welches*) is, in case of the superlative category, that of 53 to 24. All the examples of my exhibit, outside of this category, show a reverse ratio of 156 to 41 (in favor of *das*, as compared with *was*). A discrepancy so striking as this cannot be accidental; and it invites, therefore, the attention of the investigator to its probable cause. There must be something inherent in the meaning of the superlative antecedent that finds a more adequate expression in the relative *was* than in the older *das*. The attitude of mind expressed by the whole group of *was*-clauses after superlatives is illustrated by three typical concrete cases.

1. In Nietzsche's "das Merkwürdigste, was Richard Wagner je geschaffen hat" (Ia, 30), the relative clause intensifies the superlative by measuring it by the standard of all the musical creations of Wagner. That is, whatever ones of the works be selected for comparison is immaterial for the validity of the degree affirmed. The relative (*was*) embraces the whole of which the superlative represents the part taken; it is, therefore, a relationship essentially like that expressed by a partitive genitive.

2. In Schopenhauer's "Alles das Viele und Grosse, was das menschliche Leben vor dem tierischen auszeichnet" (Ia, 41), the author sums up the multiplicity and importance of all the characteristic differences between human life and mere animal life. The inclusiveness of the relative coincides with that of its antecedent. The syntactical relation is here clearly appositional.

3. The same author implies in his "das Einzige, was es vom Ding an sich trennt" (Ia, 37), by means of the *was*-clause a scrutiny of the entire range of things

that might be conceived of as separating the object in question from abstract reality. Of this entire range he selects a single item (*das Einzige*). *Was* is here, as in 1, an expression of the implied partitive relationship. Whenever the relationship is conceived of as appositional, the exclusive meaning of *das Einzige* calls for the determinative relative *das*.⁶

The highest conceivable degree of any quality, the completeness expressed by *alles*, and the uniqueness expressed by *einzig* imply an examination and evaluation of each and every member of the species in question. The relative is, therefore, in such cases an expression of the whole species of which the antecedent is a part, as in 1 and 3, or with which the antecedent is identical, as in 2. I should like to call this the "omnibus" relative. The original indefiniteness of *swaz*, prototype of modern *was*, still inheres to an appreciable extent in the latter and fits it especially for the use just mentioned. The distinct preference for *was*, shown by our statistics, in clauses dependent upon the superlative category seems indubitable proof of a pretty general recognition of this fitness. However, no expression, not even the superlative (or *alles* or *einzig*), is incapable of employment in a determinative sense. Our statistics contain twenty-four *das*-clauses dependent upon the superlative category (IIa, 1-24). The antecedents of eighteen of these clauses are superlatives, five contain *alles*, and one contains *alles und einzig*. Seventeen of these cases (IIa, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24) are true determinative clauses; the remaining seven are in no respect different in meaning from the fifty-three *was*-clauses, already considered, and are clearly survivals in modern German of the older general relative function of *das*.

These considerations, which are materially strengthened by our later examination of the positive-comparative category, already point unmistakably to a progressive division of labor between *das* (*welches*) and *was*. Each of these words was formerly used rather indiscriminately, as vehicle of the relative idea under all varieties of condition.⁷ The tendency revealed by this part of our statistics is toward a differentiation, assigning to *was* the office of "omnibus" relative after the superlative category and restricting *das* (*welches*) to determinative clauses. The seven *das*-clauses that seem to stand upon a par with the fifty-three *was*-clauses after superlatives show by their comparative infrequency the approximate completeness of this phase of the process. The seventeen *das*-clauses of the same group, whose determinative meaning is clear, are, far from being exceptions to the tendency just formulated, in reality illustrations of its force. Hence it appears that after the superlative category there is (1) a strong general tendency, expressed by the ratio, 53 to 24, to employ the relative *was* in place of the older *das* (or *das* and *was*), and (2) a slightly stronger specific tendency, expressed by the ratio, 17 to 7, to restrict the relative *das* (*welches*) to determinative clauses.

⁶ Cf. Meyer's "das All' und Einzige, das ich war," II a, 4.

⁷ PAUL, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 540, 541; MIPON, *PBB.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 477 ff.

The following table illustrates the strength of the general tendency, just noted, in case of the individual writers examined:

Hauptmann, no examples	Raabe, 1 to 0
Heyse, 18 to 2	Schopenhauer, 15 to 10
Keller, 3 to 1	Spielhagen, 2 to 0
Meyer, 1 to 1	Sudermann, 3 to 0
Nietzsche, 9 to 10	Wildenbruch, 1 to 0

With the exception of Meyer (1 to 1) and Nietzsche (9 to 10), all these writers employ the *was*-clause after the superlative category more frequently than the *das*-clause, and five of the ten present no instance of the latter. Five writers contribute to the seventeen triumphs of particularizing intention over the more or less stereotyped universality of the superlative category. These are: Heyse, 2; Keller, 1; Meyer, 1; Nietzsche, 7; Schopenhauer, 6. The seven cases of the older *das* for the present favorite, *was*, are distributed as follows: Nietzsche, 3; Schopenhauer, 4.

Turning now to the positive-comparative category (Ib and IIb), we find the average ratio of *das* to *was*, 153 to 41, distributed as follows:

Hauptmann, 0 to 1	Raabe, 2 to 1
Heyse, 11 to 12	Schopenhauer, 97 to 18
Keller, 1 to 1	Spielhagen, 6 to 2
Meyer, 4 to 0	Sudermann, 2 to 0
Nietzsche, 33 to 4	Wildenbruch, 0 to 2

Six of the ten writers use *das* in this connection more frequently than *was*. The two who show reverse ratios, Hauptmann and Wildenbruch, are represented, respectively, by 136 and 110 pages of prose, the smallest amounts examined in case of any individual writers (cf. p. 6 of this paper). A more inclusive examination of their works might sustain, strengthen, weaken, or even reverse these ratios. There remain the cases of Keller (310 pages), who presents one instance each of *das* and *was*, and of Heyse (841 pages), who shows a slight preference for *was*—too slight to warrant placing him very decidedly in either column.

An examination of the *was*-clauses of this category reveals three distinct types, illustrated by the following concrete examples¹:

1. Übers Moralische, *was* einem doch nicht gleichgültig ist; etwas Anderes, *was* nicht Erscheinung ist (cf. Ib, 3, 22, 26, 28, 30, 33).
2. Etwas Schönes, *was* ihn mitansteckte; etwas Lustiges, *was* ihn weiter nicht berühre (cf. Ib, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41).
3. Noch nicht das Halbe, *was* ich auszustehen habe; das Zweite, *was* das Christentum zu verdrängen hatte (cf. Ib, 13, 15, 24).

The clauses represented by type 1 are clearly cases in which the relative refers loosely to the general quality represented by the antecedent. The scope of the rela-

¹ Ib, 6 is unfortunately ambiguous; however, the "omni-substantivized adjective or to the infinitive clause, *etwas was* is perfectly normal, whether it refer to the . . . sagen.

tive is co-extensive with that of the antecedent. It is a mere resumptive (*anknüpfendes*) relative,* employed as a substitute for an independent sentence. Its relation to the preceding substantivized adjective is appositional, as in type 2 of the superlative category. In type 2 of the positive-comparative category the *was*-clause is descriptive, i. e., more or less sharply delimiting (determinative). The relation is that of the attributive adjective to its object. Such clauses are determinative in substance and generalized in form. Type 3 of the positive-comparative category embraces those relative clauses that indicate a whole of which a part is represented by the antecedent. The relationship is that of the partitive genitive, as in types 1 and 3 of the superlative category.

The *das*-clauses of the positive-comparative category are of two kinds. Heyse's "all jenem Grossen verwandt, *das* man . . . erfahren hat," and Nietzsche's "das Erhabene und Entzückte, *dessen* manche Passionen fähig sind," are representative of the larger group, 1. These are all genuine determinative relative clauses that restrict the scope of the antecedent. To this group belong: IIb, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, and 156.

Heyse's "vom Angelernten, bei *dem* mir nie wohl war," and Schopenhauer's "das Subjektive als solches, *welches* daher nie Objekt werden konnte," are typical of the smaller group, 2. These are improper (*uneigentliche, anknüpfende*) relative clauses that add a statement concerning the antecedent that might with greater propriety be expressed by an independent sentence. Such clauses are: IIb, 8, 16, 38, 59, 64, 65, 66, 70, 76, 83, 84, 91, 93, 101, 103, 111, 113, 119, 124, 125, 135, 136, 137, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, and 147. The ratio of the first group of these *das*-clauses to the second is that of 127 to 29.

Thirty-one of the 41 *was*-clauses of the positive-comparative category are determinative in nature, and are, therefore, psychologically identical with the 127 strictly determinative *das*-clauses of the same category. The author appears in such expressions to subordinate his particularizing intention to the somewhat stereotyped vagueness of the adjective antecedent. A comparison of the *was*-clauses of this group with the *was*-clauses of the superlative category shows a striking analogy between the mental attitude registered in the former and that registered in the latter. The marked preponderance of *was* over *das* (*welches*) in the superlative category, together with the striking analogy just noted, warrants formulating the following hypothesis: As far as the substantivized adjective is concerned, it is probable that the encroachment of *was* upon territory once belonging to *das*, mentioned by Paul and others, began in the

* Cf. *das*-clauses below.

category of the superlative, where it soon gained a strong footing commensurate with the close correspondence it effected between thought and expression. It then spread gradually from this center to the positive and comparative degrees, partly under the influence of the grammatical association of these three degrees, partly under that of the psychological analogy just mentioned. This more or less conscious adaptation of the positive-comparative category to that of the superlative would gradually produce a stereotyped grammatical form that would pervade the expression of those who think so loosely as to feel no inner need of a determinative relative, that is, of the uneducated. However, some of the *was*-clauses of this category may be survivals of the older indiscriminate use of *was* and *das* as general relative; and the decided preference for *das*, revealed in the ratio of 156 to 41, proves that the gain of *was* in this field is somewhat problematic in case of the educated. A detailed examination of earlier writers, and a comparison of the results thus obtained with actual usage in the different living dialects, will help to decide the questions here raised. I hope, in a subsequent paper, to furnish a contribution to this end.

It seems, at any rate, clear, in the light of the statistics already examined, that the encroachment of *was* upon *das*, outside of the superlative category, is so slight as to be inconspicuous. The general ratio of 156 to 41 in favor of *das* is convincing evidence at once of the prevailingly definite character of the positive-comparative antecedent and of the preference of our stylists for *das* as the determinative relative. The exceptional individual ratios of Nietzsche (33 to 4) and Schopenhauer (97 to 18) are what we should expect, in view of their training as professional philosophers, accustomed to think closely and to express themselves accurately.

I purposely refrain from drawing any conclusions from the relation of the statistics discussed in this paper to the very important question of geographical distribution, since safe deductions, touching this point, demand an investigation of numerous representative writers from each of several language districts.

The chief results of the foregoing examination may be summarized as follows:

1. The generally accepted view of grammarians like Erdmann, Paul, and Sanders, as to the preponderance of *was* over *das* after substantivized adjectives in nineteenth-century German, needs radical revision in view of the facts. The reverse ratio of almost 2 to 1 in favor of the *das*- (*welches*-) clause, which holds in case of the authors that I have examined, is extremely significant. Even if we omit the sixteen substitute clauses, mentioned on p. 6, the ratio still remains 164 to 94 in favor of *das* (*welches*).

2. The striking ratio of almost 4 to 1 (156 to 41) in favor of *das* (*welches*) after substantivized adjectives of the positive-comparative category proves that here the generalized meaning of the adjective antecedent defeats the author's particularizing intention far less frequently than in the adjective group as a whole. Attention to the relation of individual writers to these statistics suggests a correspondence of cause

and effect between the critical, analytic habit of mind and a strong preference for the relative *das* (*welches*). Meyer, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Spielhagen, and Sudermann are conspicuous examples of this, with ratios, respectively, of 4 to 0, 33 to 4, 97 to 18, 6 to 2, and 2 to 0.

3. The ratio of *was* to *das* after the superlative category as antecedent (53 to 24) is convincing, and would probably remain substantially the same were the investigation extended indefinitely to other stylists of repute. In view of the facts just expressed, it appears to register the chief gain made by *was* over *das*, as relative after adjective antecedents. The close correspondence between the vagueness of the relative *was* and the completeness of the generalization, implied by the superlative category, without doubt facilitated the shift. It seems, in fact, probable that the latter began, not with the adjective antecedent as a whole, but with the superlative category, and that by analogy it spread then gradually to the positive-comparative category. The strength of the analogical influence and the survival of the earlier tendency to use *was* and *das* indiscriminately are attested by thirty-one *was*-clauses (Ib, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41), whose antecedents are so individualized as to suggest the appropriateness of the determinative *das*.

4. Seven examples of *das* (*welches*) (II a, 5, 6, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20), referring to clearly generalized superlative antecedents, remind us, in spite of their numerical insignificance, of the older indiscriminate use of this relative after all degrees of comparison.

5. Becker and Blatz are right in recognizing a qualitative difference between *das Gute, was* and *das Gute, das*. They err in ascribing to *was*-clauses a substantive, and to *das*-clauses an adjective, meaning. Sanders is right in proclaiming the "generalizing" force of *was* and the "individualizing" (*vereinzelnde*) force of *das* (*welches*) in such locutions. He errs in affirming that *was* is, according to today's usage, the preferred ("*folgt . . . zumeist*") relative in the premises.

6. The gain made since the eighteenth century by *was* has been effected, not by its assuming a determinative meaning, once exclusively characteristic of the demonstrative *das*, but by its increasing use as indeterminate relative after *alles, einzig*, and all degrees of comparison (chiefly the superlative) of the substantivized adjective, whenever the vagueness inherent in these elements is not overborne by the particularizing intention of the author, or whenever the writer's intentional vagueness demands such expression.

7. Lessing's use of the determinative relative *das*, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this paper, is entirely in harmony with today's usage, as reflected in the material of our inquiry.

STUDIES IN POPULAR POETRY

STUDIES IN POPULAR POETRY

PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN

I

NATURE INTRODUCTIONS AND VIVIFICATION IN THE OLDER GERMAN "VOLKSLIED"

THERE are two ways of accounting for any given phenomenon in popular poetry: the atavistic and the artistic. The latter term denotes not only the opposite of communal, in that it places the stress upon the individual as against the group-theory of origins,¹ but it forms an exact antithesis to atavistic, in that it insists upon the momentary, as contrasted with the inherited source of the utterance under discussion. The manner of a song is ordinarily artistic, even though its outward form be copied, as is so often the case, from the older folk-lyric, for it bears the impress of the individuality of its author; the matter of a song is ordinarily atavistic, even though it be widely varied to suit the needs of a present occasion, for at heart its theme is the same as that of precedent, traditional balladry. In Müller's two songs, *Thränen und Rosen* and *Abrede*,² the manner is all Müller's, the matter is all the folk-song's; the same may be said, in changing ratio, of many a popular song of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Germany; in fact, if we come to the very root of the matter, and do not quibble overmuch as to facts of external resemblance, there have been few songs of these centuries which have not been distinctly atavistic in content.

Sometimes, however, the external form may be designedly atavistic, as is shown clearly in other stanzas of Müller's,³ when the poet deliberately imitates the *Volkslied* manner, using its very phrases and all the minor aspects of the popular technique. Now, what we find so clearly proven in a time and in utterances so near to our own that it cannot be denied will doubtless be the case in more remote instances, where absolute statement based upon authoritative investigation of fact is denied us. In any case, dogmatic assertions as to general principles applying to popular song—in so far as insistence is made that the manner and matter of any given *Volkslied* are such as we have it solely because of its debt to the songs of foregoing generations, or, on the other hand, solely because of the individual treatment accorded his theme by the poet—are indeed but partial assertions of the truth.

Thus the refrain, so widely employed by the lyric *Volkslied*, may be either the survival of what was originally the whole burden of the song—the intervening stanzas at first but individual modulations or explanations of the refrain—or it may be

¹ GUMMERE, *Old English Ballads*, pp. xlix-lxiv; *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, Vol. V, p. 52; *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 116 f.

² *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVI (1901), pp. 37, 38.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV (1899), pp. 165, 166; *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1901), pp. 38, 39.

naught but the easily remembered and regularly recurrent interlude of the real drama of the song, introduced to maintain the sympathy of its auditors, perhaps by the auditors themselves.⁴ Thus the terseness and vagueness, so common to the *Volkslied*, may be due to the maiming and mangling, the confusion and omission, which are the circumstances of its existence through oral transmission;⁵ or, again, they may be due to the intense subjectivity of the people who compose the songs—the emotions or happenings being so familiar to the author that he considers explanation unnecessary.⁶

In the light of what has been considered thus far, one can scarce feel content before the knowledge that just in the matter of nature introductions and of vivification the atavistic side of the contention has been omitted in favor of the artistic. With a belief in the doctrine that multiple hypotheses clarify, rather than confuse, it would seem in all fairness essential to state the atavistic possibility in the treatment of nature in the German *Volkslied*.

First and chiefest of the causes which transform to myths the facts of everyday experience is the belief in the animation of all nature, which in its highest form becomes personification.⁷ Nature and man act and react upon each other.

Nature acts upon man.—At the very first man probably did not love nature in any wide sense. He came, it may be, to love that corner of it which was the most familiar to him, that sheltered abiding-place which hid him oftenest from the rigor of the heat or of the cold; but his first feeling for external nature was certainly fear. Before he noticed in conscious fashion the odor of the flower, he shrank before the blast of the tempest, the blare of the thunder, the blinding lightning, the blackness of night. These demonic forces he clad with living shapes, and sacrificed and prayed to them.

Man reacts upon nature.—Almost simultaneously with the above⁸ man must have noticed that something had left the body of a dead person, which continued to dwell in him, which seemed to dwell in the elements around him, in the moving, living nature of his environment. What more natural than to discover the voice of the dead in the wind—to feel that the soul was continued in the life of inanimate nature? Thus would vivification (*Beseelung*) be no *conscious* projection of the human life and emotions into the natural objects and forces about one; it would rather be a primal instinct. We should rid ourselves once for all of the hurtful Ruskinism, *pathetic fallacy*, except in so far as it be employed to connote the last cry of a decadent romanticism in nature; not a treatment of nature, but a mistreatment of it, as in Heine. Hard upon this original vivification would follow the first metaphor; when identity between man and nature was not certain, but the resemblance between them recognizable, there arose the first simile.

⁴ For the literature see R. M. MEYER, *Euphorion*, Vol. V (1896), p. 1; MINOR, *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik*, 2d ed. (1902), p. 532. Cf. also BÜCHER, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*, 3d ed. (1902).

⁵ UELAND, *Volkslieder*, 3d ed., Vol. III, p. 9.

⁶ WACKERNELL, *Das deutsche Volkslied*, p. 18.

⁷ TYLOR, *Anfänge der Kultur* (1873), Vol. I, p. 281; MOCK, *Mythologie. FGrundriss*, Vol. III, 2d ed., p. 250.

⁸ Perhaps before: E. H. MEYER, *Germanische Mythologie*; MOCK, *loc. cit.*, p. 250.

Now, when especial emergency arose in time of need, by bereavement through death for example, especial pleading would be uttered for which the ordinary formulæ of speech would not suffice, and conscious expression would ensue. Thus would the first poetic imagery be made—a lyric hymn to nature in some one of its chiefest functions: lyric; for what is nearer to man than his own emotions? And the mainspring for early lyric utterance was not erotic passion, any more than it would be the depiction of domestic bliss today,⁹ but fear or loneliness, inspired by the approach of, or the fact of, death.

When the belief in the demonic forces and shapes of nature had waned, there was yet a long period of time when nature remained the chief matter for hymnic outpouring, and for several very patent reasons.

First, it had become stereotyped, like many another formal utterance or orthodoxy, and would not yield until a new conversion came—no, not quite then. A priesthood of some sort must have arisen to maintain and cherish the nature-worship. Metaphor and simile, instinct in all speech,¹⁰ must soon have crystallized this worship into many a formula, incantation, and oracular saying, which would outlast the centuries of sequent nature-agnosticism. And then man was never fully converted from his original state of mind; for customs and usages of this late present have their origin in the old pagan attitude,¹¹ and man still feels that something higher than himself lies in environing nature.

Secondly, what was there ever to replace nature in the popular poetry? Heroes came to succeed the gods as matter for poetic treatment; and unto heroes in a later day came men; and at last in picaresque balladry the lowest dregs of humankind followed men. Alliteration gave place to end-rime, and end-rime to the measured cadence of the verse; and often later this very rhythmic cadence surrendered to the ebb and flow of the thought which burdened it. Christianity was added to paganism, and civilization to Christianity—the social structure changed, chasms of class yawned where parity had been, intelligence strove away from ignorance, wealth away from poverty. Cities rose, and empires; foreign models reigned a while supreme; and still, unchangeable throughout, the one present exponent of the infinite, the one unfailing analogy to the growth and decay of human life, was everywhere the same nature as in the beginning of things, the firmament which showed the handiwork more than human.

Thirdly, there is that in the German character, from the long-ago *Sonderwohnen am Quell, im Walde* down to the nature-pilgrimages of today, which has tended to preserve under changed conditions the same nature-worship as that of the earliest sources.¹² And the *Volkslied* has always found its place of sojourn away from the haunts of men, close to the heart of outdoor nature.

⁹ WESTERMARCK, *Human Marriage*, p. 357; GROSSE, *Beginnings of Art*, p. 245.

¹⁰ MAX MÜLLER, *Science of Language*, 2d ser., p. 368.

¹¹ MOCK, "Behandlung der volkstümlichen Sitte," *Grundriss*, Vol. III, 2d ed., p. 494.

¹² DUNGER, *Rundds*, p. xlili.

With all this clearly in mind, is it wise for us to posit as the beginnings of nature-depiction in German popular poetry those nature-introductions which let the occurrence to be sung appear as in a foreground of landscape, and which are so common in the *Volkslied* from the twelfth century on?¹³ With a few bold strokes the landscape or the atmosphere is sketched in, and particularly fitted to the sentiment of the following verses.¹⁴ And such introduction has been commonly esteemed, in its simplest form at least, to be unconscious and instinctive with the *Volkslied*—"less adornment than necessity."

How can it be instinctive? Would the poet at any time preface to his verses a reference to something which stood only in the vaguest sort of relationship to what followed, unless it were a mere understood convention that he should do so? Krejčí believes he would, for¹⁵ he endeavors to explain the lack of connection between the first and the second couplet of the well-known

Dass 's im Wäld finstr is,
Däs mächt däs Holz;
Dass main Scház saubr is,
Des mächt mi schtolz.

by attributing it to the psychic mechanism underlying the uneducated mind, which finds its most conspicuous expression in just the lack of all logical connection, and which is a part of all the other vagueness and naïveté of the *Volkslied*. This may be true in any one instance, or set of instances, but what shall we say when it is found that exactly this *Ungereimtheit* between nature-introduction and following verses is a stated convention in *Schnaderhüpfel* literature, from which Krejčí quotes his illustration?¹⁶ Would it be advisable to believe that the psychic mechanism of the popular mind is such that it not only works vaguely, with rushes and starts, to which our mind cannot leap, but that it works constantly and consistently in a certain unswerving channel of stereotyped vagueness? If the poet were to seek any nature-introduction at all, would he not naturally undertake something which was in close accord with his theme, which explained, paralleled, or expanded it; in case, that is, he were free from conventional let or hindrance in the matter, and but following out his own compelling need? And is the "educated" mind so far beyond the view-point of the "popular" mind that it cannot understand in hundreds, or thousands, of instances the psychic mechanism of the latter?

Surely it is not fair to feel that, so far as the song is the artistic effort of the individual author, he could ever have prefixed to the verses of his composing a reference to nature "which stands in no close connection with what follows, but which lends a faint color to the whole song." Following the rule of his art, rather, as laid down for him in many a well-remembered song, he gave us an opening touch of

¹³ UHLAND, *loc. cit.*, p. 15. "At the first a nature-picture at the top of the song, less adornment than necessity, may have been the indispensable support upon which the following main thought leaned."

¹⁴ J. GRIMM, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. IV, p. 218.

¹⁵ *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, Vol. XIX (1899), p. 135.

¹⁶ G. MEYER, *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 377.

nature, as naturally as did the majority of our novelists, until comparatively recently, devote a large part of their opening chapter to the limning of some natural scene, into which fine-writing they introduced in leisurely fashion the characters of the drama to be acted.

This nature-introduction is, then, no embryonic beginning of that use of nature which at a later stage of development entered the fiber of the *Volkslied*, and offered a counterpart or foil to every possible human emotion;¹⁷ it is rather the last remnant of what was originally the entirety of the song—the last shred of the nature-hymn.

And the evolution of nature-sense from the simple to the complex—did such an evolution ever exist in point of fact? There is an interchange between intensive and extensive, but who shall say which of the two denominates a fuller life? Does the pathetic fallacy mean a deeper use of human life in nature, or merely a wider use? From the beginning of Germanic life to the present, when did vivification have fullest expression? In latter-day subordination of the natural world to the enlarged demands of the *ego* in poetic utterance, or in the beginnings, when man had no mirror for his indwelling self other than the inanimate world about him? If it has been rightly assumed that vivification, that natural reaction of man upon his environment, be the first way, or a first way, in which he can interpret himself at all, then we must acknowledge that nothing has been added to its primal power throughout the centuries. One cannot speak here in terms of Darwin, or Spencer, or Haeckel; one can merely assert that, under whatever shifting variance of mood or condition, the core of the matter is the same, unchanging: vivification is as natural and as wide as the human breath.

Suggestion is a higher art than detailed reference. The ability to sum up in a phrase what would otherwise require extended explanation is not primal, nor yet antique—it is modern. And surely as subtle an impressionism is contained in the delicate allusions to nature which meet us in twelfth-century *Minnesang* as the mind can well conceive. When fear of nature had died away, and such late love of nature had come to take its place that the poet need but hint at its humblest beauty or significance to put himself in thorough accord with his auditors—then we have proof of a long and thorough appreciation of the poetic symbolism in nature, which is no new thing and novel. It is a survival.

¹⁷ *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1901), p. 44.

II

OLD BALLADS NEWLY EXPOUNDED

LORD RANDAL

1. Oh, where have you been, Andrew my son?
Oh, where have you been, my darling sweet one? —
I've been to Pretty Polly's, mother: Make my bed soon,
Refrain.—For I'm sick to my heart, and fain would lay down.
2. What had you for supper, Andrew my son?
What had you for supper, my darling sweet one? —
Fried eels, and bread and butter, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
3. What kind of eels were they, Andrew my son?
What kind of eels were they, my darling sweet one? —
Striped backs and speckled bellies, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
4. Oh, you have been poisoned, Andrew my son.
Oh, you have been poisoned, my darling sweet one.—
With the fried eels, and bread and butter, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
5. What will to your father, Andrew my son?
What will to your father, my darling sweet one? —
My suit of new clothes, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
6. What will to your brother, Andrew my son?
What will to your brother, my darling sweet one? —
The pin in my bosom, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
7. What will to your sister, Andrew my son?
What will to your sister, my darling sweet one? —
The ring on my finger, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
8. What will to your sweetheart, Andrew my son?
What will to your sweetheart, my darling sweet one? —
Hell-fire and brimstone, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*
9. What will to your mother, Andrew my son?
What will to your mother, my darling sweet one? —
The gates of heaven opened wide, mother: Make my bed soon,—*Ref.*

LORD THOMAS AND FAIR ANNET

2. Come riddle me this, dear mother, he said,
Come riddle this unto me;
Whether I marry fair Ellenor,
Or bring the brown girl home, home, home,
Refrain.—Or bring the brown girl home.

3. The brown girl she hath both money and land,
Ellenor she hath none.—
I 'll give you my blessing, my only one son,
But bring me the brown girl home, home, home,—*Ref.*
 4. Lord Thomas he dressed himself in red,
His merry men all in green;
And ev'ry town that they rode through,
They took him to be some king, king, king,—*Ref.*
 5. He rode till he came to fair Ellenor's gate,
Then he the bell did ring;
There was none so ready as fair Ellenor,
To welcome Lord Thomas in, in, in,—*Ref.*
 6. What ails you, Lord Thomas, fair Ellenor cried,
What ails you, Lord Thomas, cried she.—
My mother she bids me the brown girl to wed,
Or no blessing she gives to me, me, me,—*Ref.*
 11. Lady Ellenor dressed herself in pink,
Her waiting-maids all in green;
And ev'ry town that they rode through,
They took her to be some queen, queen, queen,—*Ref.*
 12. She rode till she came to the castle gate,
Then she the bell did ring;
There was none so ready as Lord Thomas himself,
To welcome fair Ellenor in, in, in,—*Ref.*
 15. The brown girl she had a little pen-knife,
It was both sharp and small;
She stuck it in fair Ellenor's side,
And wounded her in the gall, gall, gall,—*Ref.*
 - 16, 17. What ails you, fair Ellenor? Lord Thomas he cried,
What ails you, fair Ellenor? cried he;
As he saw the blood flowing down,
* * * * *
 18. Lord Thomas he had a little broad sword,
It was both sharp and small;
He took it and cut off the brown girl's head,
And dashed it against the wall, wall, wall,—*Ref.*
 19. Lord Thomas he had a little broad sword,
It was both sharp and small;
He stuck the hilt into the ground,
And on it he did fall, fall, fall,—*Ref.*
- And that put an end to them all, all, all,
And that put an end to them all.

The two ballads printed above are variants of *Lord Randal*¹⁸ and *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet*.¹⁹ They are from the recitation of Mrs. Eliza Andrus, of Schenectady, N. Y., and were learned by her from an elderly serving-maid in the year 1844, when in Bloomingdale, at that time a suburb of New York city (Seventy-second street). Two facts bespeak the value of these versions: (1) Mrs. Andrus had never seen either of the ballads in print; (2) she was not taught them, but learned them as a child from hearing the maid sing them when at work about the house. A third ballad (*Barbara Allen*) would not appear to warrant regiving, because it is practically identical with an old Wehman-broadside already sufficiently known. The ballads were all sung impartially to a rocking, mournful cadence, although *Randal* was sung to Mrs. Andrus in 1870 by an English girl of sixteen, set to a lively dance measure—the hero's name in this latter case being *Jimmie Landon*, an evident corruption. This raises the interesting question as to whether the first, and intrinsic, distinction between a somber ballad (*Schauerromanze*) and a "Bab" ballad be not, after all, a matter of tune, and not a matter of text. That is, would not the apostate mind but newly freed from a belief in the horrors of Scottish balladry find relief in jingling the tune, before it parodied the text?

For music lends not only color to a song; it is a life-giving principle. How true this is may be seen by the new lease of life which was given the ballad in the early part of the eighteenth century, when music composers found settings for songs, hitherto of such difficulty that only trained singers could do them justice, now simple enough for the slightest talent in musical accompaniment. These simple settings applied to the older ballads, breathing a freshness which was but the resultant of the highest art, gained for them an undreamed-of popularity.

Music re-edits a ballad. It unites with the increasing importance of the time consideration in modern life to lop off ruthlessly the epic breadth of detail which had become incrustated on the ballad, as it ceased to be a dramatic recitative and became through the barren art of the bench-singers at the fairs a most prosaic chap-book history. When mumbled chanting has been laid aside, and the individuality of the musical performer begins to assert itself, the original demand of the first foresinger of the ballad becomes again compelling, which is that the story fail not of its highest effect upon its auditors.

To this end, as the lyric elements come again to ascendancy in the ballad, everything not absolutely necessary to the structure of the moment under description falls away as dross. As the compass of the song is narrowed, the root-situation is more vividly contemplated, the emotional stress is deepened, and the story of it has been reclaimed from the spurious detail which enveloped and threatened to choke it.

A sprightliness results, a laconicism, an omission of middle-terms; the story is suggested, not told. It is the suppression in *Randal* and *Edward* that strikes deep; it is what is not written of the first love between *Thomas* and *Ellenor* that arouses pity—all is impressionistic, not expressionistic.

The above version of *Lord Randal* agrees with six versions as printed by Child,

¹⁸ CHILD, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 73 D.

A, B, D, F, H, Ic, in that it contains a stanza expressing the fact that the son is poisoned, while this is merely implied in Child's C, E, G, Ia, Ib, Id, Ie, If, Ig, J, Ka, Kb, Kc, L, M, N, O. It might be argued that, as most of these versions are evidently cradle-songs, it was often found necessary to explain to the inquiring mind of the listening child that eels with striped backs and speckled bellies were snakes, and that snakes were poison; but it is curious to note that, with a single exception, Ic, just those versions, I-O, which are the most clearly intended for little children omit any mention of the word "poison." Seventeen versions are thus found to omit the word "poison," six to contain it. Yes—it may be objected—but full nineteen of the versions, A, C, D, E, Ia-Ig, J, Ka-Kc, L-O, contain stanzas which show the eels (fish) were no true eels, in that they either (1) were gathered on the land close by, or (2) killed the dogs (hawks) that got the leavings. This is another matter, for the poison is still only implied, although, by the plodding figure of climactic repetition common to all popular poetry, every possibility that it is not poison may be removed.

Lord Randal, in the above version, falls into two integral parts. The last five stanzas relating to the will and testament²⁰ may be and are attached to any number of ballads which deal with the death of their chief actor. They are, too, implicative of certain death, which is ordinarily not expressly stated. The first three stanzas are the other whole, and as such are perhaps originally sprung from a riddle: "What kind of eels grows on land?" or, "What snakes are without poison?"—"A man ate snakes (eels) and lived," or, "A man ate eels (snakes) and died." Add to such statement the near query: "Who would give a man such eels?" and the consequent thought is at hand: "An adulterous mother, a spiteful step-mother [grandmother must be a mere corruption, except as it connotes *granny, hag, witch, crone*], or a faithless sweetheart." Out of such simples may a ballad be made. But the fourth stanza is of neither first nor second part; it is an interpolation; it expresses what needs no expression; it undoes all that precedes it. In three versions (Child F, H; Pound, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVII, 1902, p. 13) it has crept destructively into the preceding stanza, and in one place (Child H) it has blurred everything:

A cup of strong poison;
I fear you are poisoned,
I fear you are poisoned,
O yes, I am poisoned.

When explication enters the ballad and implication dies out of the ballad, what is left is apt to run like the above. It is then good that we can say, seventeen of Child's variants omit poison, while only six contain it. A pity that in Miss Pound's version, as in the above, two more examples of the corrupted sort are added!

Our version of *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet* is shorter by some eight stanzas than any of the variants of Child's D, to which type it belongs. The American

²⁰ CHILD, Vol. I, pp. 143, 144.

version printed by Babbitt²¹ has likewise eighteen stanzas—compare the variants of Tolman. Where any of these variants lack stanzas which are in the type D, as Df–Di, these same stanzas are lacking in our version, which for the sake of convenience may be termed Dx; with a single exception, Di, in which the stanza corresponding to the fourth in Dx has fallen out. That is, out of ten ballads like Dx which have been noted by Child, only one lacks a stanza which Dx has; otherwise Dx is in every case more condensed in every part than any one of Child's ten — D, Da–Di. By comparing the stanza-numbers of Dx with those of Child D, it will be seen that they are practically identical, except that Dx lacks stanzas 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14 of D, while stanzas 16, 17 of D are summed up in one deponent stanza in Dx.

Now, whatever be the comparative artistic merits of D and Dx (and I can imagine none so purblind as not to vastly prefer D), the truth would seem to remain that Dx is closer to the original condition of the ballad than is D. Dx contains the whole story without comment or omission: A swain loves two women, one of whom has lands (cattle), the other nothing. He marries the girl with lands, and the rejected mistress is stabbed by the wife. (Compare the amusing perversions of Babbitt and Tolman ballads.) The maddened husband kills his wife and then himself. D adds touches of beauty to the narrative; motivates it, however, not one whit beyond Dx. The first stanza of D is unnecessary; the longest of the other kindred ballads, A–C, E–H, are without the introductory verses, although H has no less than forty-one extant stanzas. Stanzas 7–10 of D deal with Elinor's compunctions about going to the wedding; they enhance the art-merit of the ballad, but retard its action, as the outcome is foregone. Stanzas 13, 14 of D describe in what way the wife is exasperated, by the taunt of Elinor (13) and the answering love of Thomas (14); but they are not required to explain the jealousy of the brown girl.

A further comparison of the other *Lord Thomas* ballads in Child with D will show that the latter is the most condensed of all, A–C, E–H. D leaves out much repetition: asking advice in turn of father, mother, sister, brother; discussion of Annet's (Elinor's) family, father, mother, brothers; description of the smiths, tailors, maidens, who got the girl largely ready for witnessing the wedding; an account of the bickering between bride and mistress; a narrative of the double burial of Thomas and Annet, with the attendant ritual and the resultant birk and briar twining their branches over the graves of the lovers. D has rid itself of at least twenty such explicatory and swelling stanzas; Dx has shown the possibility of the story with eight or nine stanzas less than D, and yet without an over-pruning.

If, then, Dx be really not an older form than Child D, Da–Di, it is yet a more original form, judged by the tenets regarding the early balladry. Music has re-edited it in this case, for it is more effective as a song of eleven stanzas than ever it could have been as a declamation of not less than forty-one. And what is a song of forty-one quatrains but a declamation, no matter if it be sing-sung? Dx, in short, has become less epic and more lyric.

²¹ *Folk-Lore Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 33; CHILD, Vol. VI, p. 509.

III

HEINE AND THE "SCHNADERHÜPFEL"

Every investigator of Heine's lyric poetry, from the first to the last (Matthew 20:16: For many be called, but few chosen), has occupied himself somewhat with the debt which it evidently owes to the *Volkslied*, for the correspondence between Heine's technique and that of German popular poetry is too close to permit of either denial or of oversight. Two special investigations of this correspondence have appeared (Greinz, *H. Heine und das deutsche Volkslied*, 1894, and Goetze, *H. Heine's "Buch der Lieder" und sein Verhältnis zum deutschen Volkslied*, 1895), not to speak of shorter articles, such as Hessel's suggestive "Heinrich Heine und das deutsche Volkslied" (*Kölner Zeitung*, February 22, 1887). And yet it would seem that little or nothing has been said in the matter of Heine's most important getting from the storehouse of popular song: I mean, of course, his broad use of that ironical antithesis (*Stimmungsbrechung*) which has caused him more misunderstanding than all his published cynicisms, and has ever proven such a stone for stumbling to appreciative criticism of his life and works.

Goetze closes a detailed study of Heine's debt to the popular poetry in the following words:

Heine gave, as we have seen, a popular dress to his songs, and borrowed many a poetic theme from the *Volkslied*; but his originality did not suffer the least in this. For there is never visible a slavish dependence upon his model, but rather in many an instance a further development of the seed which he has taken in. And finally Heine owes his popularity to just this circumstance, that, following the suggestions which had been given by Herder and Goethe, he went back to the real poetry of the *Volkslied*, to the same root from which the *Heideröslein*, that precious flower of the German lyric, had sprouted.²²

No account is here taken of ironical antithesis as a possible borrowing from the popular; in fact, in another place of the same study (p. 4) Goetze characterizes it as a distinct going beyond the simple nature-treatment of the *Volkslied*.²³

Walzel has, to be sure, called attention in his review of Legras's *Henri Heine*²⁴ to the fact that there exists an intrinsic connection between Heine's *Stimmungsbrechung* and the ironic quatrains of the *Schnaderhüpfel*, but his words are, whether designedly or no, most prophetically vague: "Nor do I intend to make clear," he writes, "just how I conceive the origin of this form which Heine held so dear, and would therefore only refer in passing to the ironic songs of the Alpine countries, for these affix to an appreciative nature-introduction a coarse and sarcastic bit of obscenity." This statement seems to me oddly guarded in tone and expression for one who has come so near the truth as Walzel.

²² *Loc. cit.*, p. 47.

²³ For a list of such antitheses with similar comment,

compare SEELIG, *Die dichterische Sprache in Heine's Buch der Lieder* (1891), pp. 70 f.

²⁴ *Euphorion*, Vol. V (1898), p. 151.

Personally, I conceive the matter most concretely. I have ever agreed with Nollen²⁵ that Heine owed more to Wilhelm Müller than is commonly considered to be the case, despite the now famous letter of June 7, 1826; but I think that Heine's greatest debt to Müller lies not in borrowed cadences and meters; for this is, after all, a matter of externality, and, overwhelming as is the long list of correspondences cited to Müller's advantage by Nollen,²⁶ he has therein taken up dozens of coincidences weighed by Hessel²⁷ and myself,²⁸ and adjudged too inconclusive to warrant mention. Not in these matters of meter and trick of speech, then, but in that Müller first called Heine's attention to the art-value of the *Schnaderhüpfel*, with its quick turnings from simple ideality to cynical materialism—therein lies the ineffaceable debt.

Nor can we quite arrive at the real meaning of the *Schnaderhüpfel* by a study of the printed collections, for these are ordinarily required to lay aside their most stinging and clutching ribaldries, out of regard for polite convention. It seems odd that an age which puts its imprint on so many traditional obscenities can offer no unglossed edition of the age-old *Schnaderhüpfel*.²⁹ For an inherent difference between the lyric-epic *Volkslied* and the epigrammatic *Gestanzel* is found in just this matter of unchastity. "The songs of the troopers and the clerks," says Müllenhoff,³⁰ "are not always the most decent, and there exist rimes for the rabble, too, written in the manner of the *Volkslied*—often to parody it. It would be absurd, however, to judge the latter's worth from a depraved example. The true *Volkslied* is chaste, unaffected, and never common or low. No sadder misconception is possible than to assign to it all the prosaic songs which are written in the language of the people." Likewise Wackernell³¹ speaks of the modesty and chastity with which the *Volkslied* deals with the most suggestive material, where art-poets are not disinclined to paint with a broad brush, beneath a transparent veil. These words are true, in so far as they concern the narrative popular song, but this is as different from the caustic *Schnaderhüpfel* as the song of a lark is from the sting of a bee. There is, however, impurity for the sake of impurity in much attempted epigram of the popular sort—the notorious Clara Hätzlerin couplets, for instance—but it may be safely assumed that, although one meets such poverty of wit in manuscripts and books which note the prevailing fashions of their moment, it is not handed down in the inherited stock of the *Gestanzeln* which are based upon oral transmission; for pure dirt never lives.

²⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVII (1902), pp. 104 f.

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 262-75.

²⁷ *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, Vol. III (1889), pp. 59, 60.

²⁸ *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1901), p. 35 *ae.*

²⁹ In this connection attention may be called to the pervasive American limerick, which in our own time sums up so neatly in its four-versed doggerel many an absurdity and abuse of our modern life, and which, nevertheless, because of its indecency of expression, never sees the light of print. The name "limerick" is lacking in the *Century Dictionary*, and yet it is in common use as applied to the

inimitable epigrams which may be heard exchanged among care-free persons, until score upon score have been given. The simplicity of the cadence-structure fairly invites to improvisation, and new limericks are born as surely as old limericks are sung. The melody to which they are sung rarely varies, and the three-beat measure is maintained with a consequent rigor—the form becoming as stereotyped as that of a triolet or a sonnet.

³⁰ *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg* (1845), p. xxvi.

³¹ *Das deutsche Volkslied*, p. 21.

Every race possesses a popular literature whose spirit is a scurrilous wit: the people's songs and tales are as racy as they are racial, before they have been expunged and prepared for parlor-presentation. In the astounding abundance of the *facetiae*, the *fabliaux*, the *Schwänke* of the past centuries we do not need to read degeneracy — no matter how they offend today. Such rank growth betokens rather a virility beyond that of any modern form of "polite" literature. The one element in the age-long history of literature which has remained immutable amid all the eddying and shifting currents of change is this same scurrilous wit. From the tales of the unknown monk of St. Gall to the *Schwänke* and *Schnurren* of the German prentice of today, there is a coherence and identity, brought about by the presence of this unvarying situation-humor, which is beyond any that is maintained by polished literature. From the earliest *winileodos* (= *Gestanzeln*) of the Carolingian nunneries to the last lyric-epigram of the Austrian peasant, there has been no permutation in this teasing, plaguing, tormenting, stinging, coarse-fibered wit.

A strange endurance! Nature for the very sake of nature. The rich soil in which the brightest and the fairest expressions of a people's fancy find their roots. Not sensual — this coarse-fibered wit — but materialistic, viewing man frankly as an object among objects in the visible universe, as a product of nature like the plants and the animals. The coarsest of the popular dance-rimes have been stamped *Schlumperlieder*. Little deserving the bitter characterization of Hofmann, which has found but too ready belief: "Ungainly street-ballads, for the most part furnished over-richly with indecencies or consisting of coarseness, comprise the larger portion of these vagabond songs. Wit scarce lends them a propitiatory coloring, and they are heard but rarely at the dance or the drinking table, almost never in social gathering or under the village linden." Here again the mistake is made of attempting to separate, along the lines of modern social usage, the impure from the pure, for the same distinguished investigator, who has done so much to attain recognition for the *Schnaderhüpfel*, says of the same dance-couplets, after they have been washed free of their dross (!): "The *Schnaderhüpfel* is one of the most charming phenomena of folk-poetry, the worthiest parallel to the *Märchen* of the German North; both belong to the best that dialect-literature has to offer us." *Schlumperlied* = ungainly, coarse; *Schnaderhüpfel* = charming. And still it is just the outcast coarse-song, outside the realm of print, which has ever fulfilled the demand made of all naïve utterance, that it live entirely by oral transmission. Outside of convention, likewise, and so alive in the hidden corners of a nation's consciousness, together with many another shy remnant of old tradition and superstition.

Now, the justification of many a thing in life may be apparent, while its justification in an art which strives to represent life in its ideal relationships may be doubted. There are thus many prosaic and questionable employments in our environment of the workday week which would lend themselves but ill to poetic mirroring.

²² Koborger *Quackbrunnla* (1857), p. xxvi.

²³ *Frommanns Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten*, Vol. III, p. 154.

It is the physician and not the poet before whom every human recess is opened. How, then, can references which seem better fitted to an anatomical chart than they do to a page of polite literature be employed at all in poetic art?

The strongest instrument at the disposal of the rhetorician or the orator, the historian or the satirist, if he be but sparing in its usage, is antithesis. Nothing stands out so clearly before us as when it is confronted by its opposite—convention never slackens its hold on us till exposed by nature.

No art-form has been so built upon by convention as that of the love-lyric. This seems a paradox, that just the expression which is considered to be the most immediate outpouring of the most essential emotion should be the most stilted. And yet such is the case.

In der heroischen Zeit,
Da Götter und Göttinnen liebten,
Folgte Begierde dem Blick,
Folgte Genuss der Begier.

Satiety would then have been the only possible basis of an early love-lyric—and this were naturally impossible. But when, under convention, the sexes were segregated, and the formulæ of religion and etiquette built up castle walls between them; when natural selection was hindered in a hundred and then in a thousand ways; when the human rutting season died away until it found but a final and pale reflex in the sighing ardor which the knight entertained for his mistress—then all the coquetries and whimsies of an artificial love came to find expression in the *Minnedienst* and *Minnesang* of the Middle Age.

As art poetry grew away from people's poetry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or as they drew near to each other again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they yet were never melted the one into positive identity with the other. They grew richer or poorer in imagery and technique, more or less idealistic in expression; and yet they remained till the time of Goethe ever the mouthpiece of two different worlds. If the class separated itself from the mass in social life, then a class poetry separated itself sharply from a poetry which the mass loved—and this distinction grew vague when the distinctions in social life grew vague. But with Goethe came the beginning of a new order of things. Following out the Rousseau-Herder theory that man was at heart the same, no matter how he be covered over by the thin glaze of conventional life, he wrote poetry which would be the expression of this common heart of man, the most ignorant and the most cultured. And still, despite the songs of Goethe, which have become real people's songs, in that they reach the heart of a whole people, other poetry of his is again burdened with the thought and the philosophy of an acquired culture and world-experience far removed from the simplicity of the mass. Simple poetry, then, can go and does go to all hearts; complex poetry can go only to the heart which has been controlled and dominated by a deep intellectual experience. Artistic poetry and nature poetry can never fuse in all parts of their being.

It is commonly held, I take it, that Heine never found as full vent for the real experiences of his life as Goethe did. His published pieces would then ordinarily breathe a greater objectivity than Goethe's. At the same time, he was more concerned than Goethe ever was to give color of popularity to all that he wrote. Absolute monosyllabic simplicity of external form is therefore a leading attribute of Heine's verses. Studying the *Volkslied*, as did all the romanticists, he took over, as has been sufficiently proved, all the major matters of its technique — its concreteness, its figurative structure, its omission of detail, its prattling rhetoric, its simplicity of meter and guise. Scarce a phenomenon of its homespun demeanor escaped him; and in this direction Goethe, Brentano, and Müller taught him much.

But his figure of ironical antithesis? This figure, which he used so largely, has been deemed a thing apart from the *Volkslied* technique, and has been accounted for in Heine by the two following premises: First, "Heine was a romanticist, a pupil of Brentano, and as such made large use of poetic irony."²⁴ Secondly, "Heine but pictures the struggle going on within his own breast. His bitterness against a society which was intolerant of Judaism;²⁵ his failure with *Amalie* and *Therese*; difficulties with his uncle; exile in Paris; terrible years of spinal affliction; etc."²⁶

²⁴ ELSTER (*Heinrich Heines sämtliche Werke*, Vol. I, p. 62) says: "This mockery occurs especially at the end of such poems as have a serious beginning. The much discussed ironical endings of these songs were not introduced by Heine into his lyrics without malice prepense. As he has already found a means of avoiding the appearance of over-exuberant sentimentality, by the interspersing among his real lyrics of songs devoted to a sensual love, so he now discovers another means in these conscious destructions of the illusion. Footing upon the celebrated romantic irony, he was at pains to show that he too, the passionately aroused lyricist, was superior to his material — he wished to provide himself with an antidote against the all too strong emotional excitement which frequently threatened to overwhelm him. Thus, by this innovation, did he make it clear that he was striving after the uttermost truth, for it is an established psychological fact that an emotion which has found too free a vent begins to veer suddenly towards the diametrically opposed pole of feeling. And yet this ironic decomposition of true emotion is at times nothing more than a shamed hesitancy on Heine's part to expose the true impulse of the soul; and in isolated instances this irony may be recognized as but the shrill laughter of utter despair."

WALZEL (*loc. cit.*, p. 151) likewise finds the beginnings of the ironic antithesis of Heine in romantic irony. "There was romantic irony before Heine; this romantic irony delighted to bring into glaring contrast on the one hand the conventional expression of emotion and coarse realism, on the other hand fantastic-transcendental feeling and the straitening forms of social convention. Brentano, that romanticist who was most congenial to Heine as man and as thinker, found pleasure in this form, and Heine himself, as his *Romantische Schule* sufficiently proves [by the way, it proves no such thing], was well enough aware of this fact. With these premises can it be longer questioned that Heine merely went on to develop a style-motive

which he had got from romanticism and Brentano? And further, that the new thing in Heine's utilization did not lie in the motive itself, but only in the manner of its employment? Literary history does not doubt for a moment that something new is here, for the romantic use of ironic antithesis had not hitherto dared to the boldness of *Tannhäuser* and the winter's tale, *Deutschland*."

²⁵ Which is unfortunately so intolerant of Judaism today that the strange statement can be made by Bartels in his two-volume literary history, "written to strengthen the pride in our Germany nationality and to quicken the national conscience," that Heine is not a German poet, but a Jew poet who used the German language (BARTELS, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Vol. II, pp. 211, 311). People read and believe such criticisms of Heine today; anti-Semitism is carried into literary history.

²⁶ LÉGRAS (*loc. cit.*, p. 116) says, while discussing the famous but futile comparison of W. Scherer's, of Brentano and Heine: "Brentano had the bad taste to close very serious narrations with clownish exclamations, such as, 'Do you know, I'm hungry!' or 'Aren't they geese, these girls, I swear they've believed me!'" and the attempt is made to trace hither the source of the dissonances which mar the most tender songs of Heine. Besides, if one wishes to maintain that Heine consciously imitated the procedure just described in Brentano, it is then necessary to admit that he was by nature disposed to buffoonery: an evident circle in reasoning. I would, moreover, add, it is little likely that our poet spoiled out of pure caprice, by a brutal word or an ironic exclamation, the mood produced by his poems. If it be insisted that he was a poet occupied solely with effect, one must simply admit that, with no better reason, he destroyed the effect he had produced; if his aim was only to please, he would have listened at least to his critics, and have excised from a second edition of his poems those passages in the first which had been badly received. He did not do this — it seems that the ironic

Now, these and other like reasons, discovered and undiscovered by critics, may have influenced Heine in part or largely to make so overwhelming a use of ironic antithesis; but even then the question still remains unsolved: Where did he find his model? For, search as one will in romanticism before Heine, no like *Stimmungsbrechung* can be found. A most casual reading of Brentano's lyrics and ballads will dispel utterly the theory that Heine found it there, and the statement remains, as many others do in literary criticism, because none takes the trouble to investigate the matter. But if one does trouble to investigate the *Schnaderhüpfel*, there are at once at hand hundreds of analogies to Heine's usage, too close for mistaking."

Before going farther, however, it will be best to clear away a misunderstanding, which seems all too common, as to just what Heine's ironical antithesis really is. I conceive it, briefly, to be this: Heine brings before our eyes a situation which interests us, and makes an appeal upon our sympathy, to induce within us a certain mood. While we still fancy ourselves secure in the assurance that the situation will resolve itself according to conventional method, we are suddenly confronted, as by lightning from a clear sky, with an irony which for the moment bids fair to destroy all the beauty of description which has been slowly unfolded before us, and which gives us a shock of undeniable surprise—which almost makes us catch our breath. Whether this ironic antithesis find expression in but a verse at the end of a short song, or whether it include a whole canto of stanzas, its aim and its effect are one and the same. This identity of figure is often not recognized, for Legras,²² like many another, strives to set up a specious *distinguendum* between Heine's irony as it occurs in his shorter lyrics and Heine's irony as it occurs in the longer pieces, *Tannhäuser*, *Atta Troll*, *Deutschland*. He bases this distinction, as Hofmann did his between the *Schlummerlied* and the *Schnaderhüpfel*, on the extremely subjective decision as to obscene or not obscene. A great difference does exist, of course, between moral and immoral in the social world, the political world, and, if you wish, in the art-world; but how ironic

antithesis translated faithfully for him the struggle which his own heart was undergoing. Brentano may have been able to help him out now and then with a useful or piquant example; but he did not serve him as master."

²¹ In the light of such close analogies, Scherer's statement is too general to be of any service (*History of German Literature*, New York, 1885, Vol. II, p. 279): "Heine was only pursuing [in this ironic antithesis] to its last results a principle of romanticism which had originated in the previous century. Since Addison and others, Socrates had been an ideal of European authors, and Socratic irony an object of their aspiration. Friedrich Schlegel discovered irony in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, and demanded irony of every perfect poet; this irony he sometimes defined as analogous to the Socratic mingling of jest and earnest, sometimes as a 'constant self-parody,' sometimes as a 'transcendental buffoonery,' sometimes as 'the clear consciousness which abides amid the perpetual flux of everbrimming chaos.'" This is true, but then it is also true that the *Schnaderhüpfel* is Socratic, and so, it may be said, is life in general, for it mixes jest and earnest most sadly.

²² "I do not believe," says Legras (p. 290), "that another

of Heine's writings has ever produced so brutal a deception as has the end of *Deutschland*. The passages where the bawds of Hamburg parade are sufficiently empty and uninteresting; but anger, almost, takes hold on one when running through for the first time those chapters smeared with an ineffectual ordure, in which the goddess Harmonia appears. How could Heine dare to print his scatological allusions under the protection of Molière? How could he not understand that a vulgar object is never comic except in the proper situation? What is there left to be said, when Heine describes the privy-chair of Charles the Great? Ordure is as much out of place here as it is repugnant; it does not add one iota of comedy to the poet's theme, which it but halts profitlessly at these dirty objects. This whole ending of the poem recalls to us sadly what a low environment inclosed Heine at this time. Unhesitant, with a sort of senile satisfaction, he ends that one of his works which might, perhaps, have been the fullest and the most eloquent, with a kennel-like description of a girl in the low districts of Altona, and with a pun on the word 'chair.' Ah, how Mathilde will laugh when her husband tells her such good jokes!"

antithesis can be more or less ironic, or more or less antithetic, according as it happens to be less or more dirty, it is hard to understand.

We have seen above how carefully Heine copied the *Volkslied*. We have his own words as to the "epigrammatic ending" of the *Schnaderhüpfel*, and its influence upon him: "While at work on the little songs [of the *Lyric Intermezzo*]," he writes to Maximilian Schottky, on the fourth of May, 1823, "your short Austrian dance-rimes with their epigrammatic endings have often hovered before me." It may be well to print below a score of the dance-rimes from this epoch-making book²² which contains the ironic antithesis so close to Heine's. More of the quatrains might have been chosen to advantage, were it necessary to add to the list; other larger collections, such as Dunger's *Rundas und Reimsprüche aus dem Vogtlande* (1876); Hörmann's *Schnadahüpfeln aus den Alpen*, 3d ed. (1894); Greinz-Kapferer, *Tiroler Schnadahüpfeln und Volkslieder*, 4 vols. (1890-93), may be well consulted for a wider development of the teasing, ironic theme-treatment so common to Müller and Heine. But the undeniable base is in these sequent stanzas, *ab omni obscenitate purgatis*, to be sure, and yet brimful of the bitter-sweet of Heine's constant manner.

Nuss af d' Nâcht, Nuss af d' Nâcht
Hâd ma maiñ Vâda brâcht,
Hâd ma s' geb'n mit da Faust,
Dass ma da Kopf hâd g'saus't.

Af 'n Ânga bin i gânga
Hâb a Schlâghais'l g'richt;
An'n Buam hâb i g'fânga,
Und des Ding hâd mi gift!

Wânn daiñ Hea'z a so trai wa',
Und so woah' wa', wiâ dâs maiñ,
So miâsst hâld daiñ Schweeta
Maiñ Schwagarin saif.

Schwoa' zaugad muâsst saif,
Wânnst maiñ Diâ'nd'l wûllst saif,
Und schen hâch voa' da Brust,
So hâd da Daub'r a Lust.

O, du hea' zigi Nannerl,
Haiñt hâb i an'n Rausch,
I tat di gea'n hâls'n,
Âb'r i kenn mi nid aus.

Dass d' just nid goa' sauba bist,
Des sâg i nid;
Wânnst âb'r a wefig hibeche wa'st,
Schâd'n tat' s da nid.

Maiñ Hea'z is voñ Sâlba,
Und dain's is voñ Gold,
Und daiñ Africhtikaid
Hâd da Daiñl schoñ g'hollt.

Und du, maiñ liâbi Lena,
D' Saifd'l is schena,
Wânn s' ah koan'n Zâhnd nid hâd —
Kif'n kânn s' ja denâ!

I wollt, i war im Himm'l
Und lag im Bet und schliâf,
Und wa' mid Krâpf'n zuâdekt,
Dâ ass i voñ da Ziâch!

O God und Hea',
Gib ma, wâs i begeah';
I begeah' ja nid vûl,
Nuâ' des — wâs i wûll!

Und 's Diâ'nd'l hâd g'sâgt:
s' wa' 's Fensterl vafroa'n;
Wiâ da rehti Buâ is kemma,
Is 's glai afg'laiñt woar'n.

Im Bach'l fliâsst a Wâsserl,
Dâs Wâsserl mâcht Ais —
Wânn a schen's Diâ'nd'l a Jungfa wa'
Des wa' wâs nai's!

²² ZISKA UND SCHOTTKY, *Österreichische Volkslieder*, Pesth, 1819.

Was häst denn du gess'n,
Dass di goar a so duß'scht? —
Baim Ämtman an'n Grüll'n
Und a Fledamauswuß'scht!

Und wännst mi nid liab'n wüllst,
So lässt d' es hald blaib'n;
Maif Händ had viä' Finga,—
Da Dam zoagt da d' Faig'n.

Dear Buä, dear eahrli defikt,
Und dea' hald niks vascheñkt,
Dear wiä'rd nid g'estimiä't,
Nuä' brav sekiä't!

Denn 's Oafsidla Leb'n
Des is ma nid geb'n,
I mecht jä vül liäba
A Zwoasid'la wea'n.

Ai, du maif himmlischa Väda,
Schik ma do amäl an'n Mäfi;
Häd an iäd's Kaz'l iäh'n Käda,
Und an iäd's Heñd'l sain'n Hähñ!

Dea' Buä, dear is a Noa',
Dea' däs Ding tuät —
Dea' sain'm Diä'nd'l d' Näs'n äschnaid't
Und schtekt s' af'n Huäd!

A Kapuzina mecht i wea'n,
Nächa bauat i m'r a Zöld,
Dass i God kinnt recht diäna,
Und frumm leb'n af da Wöld.

An'n Ros'nkränz liäss i ma mäch'n,
Von lauta Muschkatnuss —
Tat s' in 's Biär aini schäb'n,
Wäñ mi 's Bet'n vadruss!

Wann i ah so scheñ wa',
Äls wiä d' Lafdlamenscha,
So tat i maif Scheñhaid
Voa' 's Fensta hefiga;

Maif Scheñhaid voa' 's Fensta,
Maif Traihaid voa' de Diä',
Geh aina, maif Hanns'l,
Und sez di zu miä'!

Däs oafi Bea'gerl affi,
Däs Äñdri hinä —
Geh, laich ma daiñ Diä'nd'l,
Däs main is nid dā!

's Diä'nd'l auslaich'n
Des wa' ma schoñ recht!
Du kinnt'st ma 's vawiäst'n,
Dass i 's nimma mecht.

Und wännst af daiñ Diä'nd'l
So hoagli wüllst sain,
So kaf d'r a Bábia'l
Und wik'l da 's draifi.

Und so leg 's in a Kist'l,
Und näg'l da 's zuä,
Und so kimmt da koan Äñdara
Wiksa dāzuä.

It is scarce necessary, perhaps, to cite examples of ironic antithesis from Heine, so well known are they all; but it may be permitted, as it will aid much in graphic presentation. First of all, then, come the paradigms, of which criticism maintains that they grow naturally from the poet's mood of despair. If they do — and this is granted for the argument — why did Heine turn to just this expression to depict his despair (Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Eichendorff, Müller made small or no use of it)? And if he did turn to this figure, where did he find it in precedent literature?

Ich, ein solcher Narr, ich liebe
Wieder ohne Gegenliebe!
Sonne, Mond und Sterne lachen,
Und ich lache mit — und sterbe.

Es ist eine alte Geschichte,
Doch bleibt sie immer neu;
Und wem sie just passieret,
Dem bricht das Herz entzwei.

Es ziehen die brausenden Wellen
Wohl nach dem Strand;
Sie schwellen und zerschellen
Wohl auf dem Sand.

Sie kommen gross und kräftig,
Ohn' Unterlass;
Sie werden endlich heftig —
Was hilft uns das?

Er spielt mit seiner Flinte,
Die funkelt im Sonnenrot,
Er präsentiert und schultert —
Ich wollt', er schösse mich tot.

Nur einmal noch möcht' ich dich sehen
Und sinken vor dir aufs Knie,
Und sterbend zu dir sprechen:
Madame, ich liebe Sie!

Die Nachtigallen singen
Herab aus der laubigen Höh',
Die weissen Lämmer springen
Im weichen, grünen Klee.

Ich kann nicht singen und springen,
Ich liege krank im Gras;
Ich höre fernes Klingen,
Mir träumt, ich weiss nicht was.

Die Welt ist so schön und der Himmel so blau,
Und die Lüfte, die wehen so lind und so lau,
Und die Blumen winken auf blühender Au',
Und funkeln und glitzern im Morgentau,
Und die Menschen jubeln, wohin ich schau' —
Und doch möcht' ich im Grabe liegen,
Und mich an ein totes Liebchen schmiegen.

Also *L. I.*, 14–30–51; *Heimk.*, 6–19; *N. F.*, 40.

Whatever may be said of the verses just quoted, however, they may be supposed to sum up fairly well those instances of antithesis in Heine where "one hears the shrill laughter of utter despair." The other *Stimmungsbrechungen* have a much more objective appearance. Here is one instance, with a well-known parody which it suggests:

Das war eine wilde Wirthschaft!
Kriegsvolk und Landesplag'!
Sogar in deinem Herzchen
Viel Einquartierung lag.

Mei Herzl is klein,
's kann niemand hinein,
Als die ganze Kasern'
Und noch a paar Herrn.

And so with many another case of Heinesque irony, as we pass his songs in review before us—the quick changing from sweet to bitter, the absolute disregard for conventional poetic usage, the childlike, at times fairly childish, delight in saying the wrong thing at the right time, together with the inimitable mockery of the child and the glee with which he brings down with one fell swoop the beautiful card-structure he has reared before us—we have entered the play-realm of the *Schnaderhüpfel*, where a quick rime or a telling bit of wit suffices unto itself, and never has to answer for the results of its flashing nonsense and shallow cynicism. Legras will have it that Heine is "as spiteful as an oriental, as spiteful as Jehovah" (!) in his irony, thus making capital of his Judaic origin—and criticism today, when confronted with the playful venom of *Deutschland*, denominates Heine the outcast Jew, the "French" pariah; as if the poet were really undertaking a determined attack upon organized society in his travesty of a "winter's tale"! *Deutschland* is part of the same realm as that where the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was played; its lorette-goddess, Hammonia, is no more concrete than Queen Titania, or, let us say, than Vashti who came to the anabaptist's bed at night in *Schnabelewopski*. But suppose Heine is as spiteful as Jehovah—whatever that may mean; it sounds like a curse of

some sort—it is a critical mistake to find this spite exemplified in the ironic antithesis of his lyrics, or his lyric-ballads. Where is the “spite” in the following? It sounds delightfully like the gay humor of a dance-rime:

O Liebchen mit den Äuglein klar!
O Liebchen schön und bissig!
Das Schwören in der Ordnung war,
Das Beissen war überflüssig.

Der Sturm spielt auf zum Tanze,
Er pfeift und saust und brüllt;
Heisa! wie springt das Schiffein!
Die Nacht ist lustig und wild.

Ein Fluchen, Erbrechen und Beten
Schallt aus der Kajüte heraus;
Ich halte mich fest am Mastbaum,
Und wünsche: Wär' ich zu Haus!

Konntest du in ihren Augen
Niemals bis zur Seele dringen,
Und du bist ja sonst kein Esel,
Teurer Freund, in solchen Dingen.

Wenn ich eine Nachtigall wäre,
So flog' ich zu dir, mein Kind
Und sänge dir Nachts meine Lieder
Herab von der grünen Lind'.

Wenn ich ein Gimpel wäre,
So flog' ich gleich an dein Herz;
Du bist ja hold den Gimpeln,
Und heilest Gimpelschmerz.

Die Thore jedoch, die liessen
Mein Liebchen entwischen gar still;
Ein Thor ist immer willig,
Wenn eine Thörin will.

Mensch, bezahle deine Schulden,
Lang ist ja die Lebensbahn,
Und du musst noch manchmal borgen,
Wie du es so oft gethan.

Doch jetzt ist alles wie verschoben
Das ist ein Drängen! eine Not!
Gestorben ist der Herrgott oben,
Und unten ist der Teufel tot.

Und alles schaut so grämlich trübe,
So krausverwirrt und morsch und kalt
Und wäre nicht das bisschen Liebe,
So gäb' es nirgends einen Halt.

Und wenn du schiltst und wenn du tobst
Ich werd' es geduldig leiden;
Doch wenn du meine Verse nicht lobst,
Lass' ich mich von dir scheiden.

Sie sangen von Liebessehnen,
Von Liebe und Liebeserguss;
Die Damen schwammen in Thränen
Bei solchem Kunstgenuss.

Teurer Freund, du bist verliebt,
Und du willst es nicht bekennen,
Und ich seh' des Herzens Glut
Schon durch deine Weste brennen.

Glaub nicht, dass ich mich erschiesse,
Wie schlimm auch die Sachen stehn!
Das alles, meine Süsse,
Ist mir schon einmal geschehn.

Das Fräulein stand am Meere
Und seufzte lang und bang,
Es rührte sie so sehre
Der Sonnenuntergang.

Mein Fräulein! sei'n Sie munter,
Das ist ein altes Stück;
Hier vorne geht sie unter
Und kehrt von hinten zurück.

Further citation is surely unnecessary. So runs on the ironic antithesis to many a well-known line: *Doktor, sind Sie des Teufels? Kriegen wir leicht den göttlichsten Schnupfen und einen unsterblichen Husten.* Many another lyric, beside those quoted above, is suddenly rounded to a barbed point of wit and sped upon its way with never a second thought for it. The use of this telling figure grows gradually so broad that

it becomes a mannerism of the poet; it is no longer a mere foil for true sentimentality, it is an entity by itself. It grows to be a habit with Heine—a vice, if you will; every mood of his is lightened by it, his coarseness finds expression in it; and when at times, sorely harried and whipped by his appetites and his ill-fortunes, he strikes out about him blindly like a spoiled child (as in certain of the *Zeitgedichte*, for instance), this figure of ironic antithesis transcends all limits and overwhelms his poetic utterance.

But, it may be objected, why ascribe to the *Schnaderhüpfel* a figure which Heine ever used in his prose writings, which answered so perfectly to his personal temperament, and of which he made such unlimited use? As to the prose, Heine could, and doubtless did, find many a prototype in the storm-and-stress and romantic writings of that "transcendental buffoonery" of which he was so fond, of that *laissez-aller* which was part of the revolt against the visible universe. But there was no such precedent in poetry until Wilhelm Müller came upon the *Schnaderhüpfel* in *Ziska* and *Schottky*; for if there was one thing which the romantic lyric poet had taken more seriously, more sacredly, than he had himself, that one thing was his verse-compositions—those verses, that is to say, which were supposedly the real expression of his *ego*. For in multifarious foreign and trivial *Gelegenheitsgedichte* the romantic poet had tried his hand, but not his heart.

Now, as to ironic antithesis suiting his personal temperament, and as to his large use of the figure, these are but two parts of one question. Of course, it suited Heine; (as Walzel well says), "he did not fasten *Stimmungsbrechung* externally to his poems." And the better it suited him, the more was he prone to use it. But did he invent it? No, for in two letters whose sincerity have never been doubted (even by the Heine critics)—the one to Wilhelm Müller, the other to Schottky—Heine records the fact that an entirely new vista, a new conception of poetry, has been opened to him by the study of the *Schnaderhüpfel*. And, when we come to examine Heine's poems, we find that there is in his first verses—*Junge Leiden*—no single example of the *epigrammatische Schluss*, but that in all the others, written, as he said, after his eyes had been opened, there are instances galore, and, by an almost regular progression, the further he writes, the wider use we find of ironic antithesis. And lastly, and best, the humor of both Heine lyric and popular dance-rime is identical. That this poet developed the figure, once digested, to far other uses and to a greater incisiveness than the *Schnaderhüpfel* had ever cared to do, or had known how to do—is this aught but natural? Does the carefully reared hothouse plant lose its identity because it has been removed from the sunshine of the open roadside, and forced to growths un contemplated in the economy of outdoor nature? Wilhelm Müller, who introduced the dance-rimes in his *Ländliche Lieder*, was content to leave them their simple, roguish rusticity; Heine made of them one of the fullest expressions of his complex personality, by the process of distillation known alone to superlative genius.

SHAKESPEARE'S "LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON"

WHAT HAS BECOME OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY "LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON"?

ALBERT H. TOLMAN

IN 1598 a volume appeared which furnishes perhaps the most important single piece of evidence that we have concerning the reputation that Shakespeare's writings enjoyed among the men of his own day. This book, "*Palladis Tamia. | WITS TREASVRY | Being the Second part | of Wits Common | wealth*,"¹ was written by Francis Meres, "Maister of Artes of both Universities." The portion which especially interests us is a sketch, or short treatise, which comes near the end of the work, and bears the title "A comparatiue discourse of our English Poets, with the *Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets*." "Wytt's Treasurie,"² as it is called in the *Stationers' Register*, was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 7th of September, 1598. Halliwell-Phillipps thinks that the sketch that concerns us, the "comparatiue discourse," was surely written in the summer of 1598, since it contains a notice of the book of satires by Marston which was registered on the 27th of the preceding May as *The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image, and Satyres*.³ We cannot be entirely certain about this, however. Meres was so exceptionally well acquainted with the literary productions of his day that he mentions certain works which were not printed until some years after the appearance of his own book, and some others which are not known to have been printed at all. Indeed, one of his references to Shakespeare is to those "sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends" that were not published until eleven years later—and are not explained yet.

The attention of scholars was first called to Meres's book by Thomas Tyrwhitt, in 1766.⁴

In the elaborate sentences in which Meres sets Elizabethan over against ancient writers, Shakespeare is mentioned by name nine times. Also, when Meres speaks of "these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man,"⁵ he is certainly quoting Falstaff's utterance: "There is nothing but roguery to be found in villanous man" (*I Henry IV.*, II, iv, 137, 138). We shall look now at

¹ C. M. INGLEBY, *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I (London, 1874), p. 151. The peculiar form of this title involves an allusion to a book entitled "*Politeuphuia, Wits Common-Wealth*," 1597, described by Ingleby as "a compilation by John Bodenham." See Ingleby's Introduction, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

² In ARBER, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, Vol. III, p. 125, the first word of the title is "Wytt's;" but the facsimile of the entry in HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th ed., Vol. II (London, 1898), p. 149, shows the form here given.

³ HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, *Outlines*, Vol. II, pp. 148, 149; ARBER, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, Vol. III, p. 116.

⁴ *Observations and Conjectures upon Some Passages of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1766), pp. 15, 16. The writer is indebted to Miss Louise Prouty, of the Boston Public Library, for a copy of the passage concerned.

⁵ *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I, p. 150.

three of the passages which contain Shakespeare's name; the other six will be cited later.⁶

As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras*: so the sweete wittie soule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakespeare*,⁷ witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, &c.

As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so *Shakespeare* among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice*: for Tragedy his *Richard the 2.* *Richard the 3.* *Henry the 4.* *King John*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo* and *Iuliet*.

As *Epius Stolo* said, that the Muses would speake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with *Shakespeares* fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.

It seems to be clear that Meres classifies all the dramas of Shakespeare as either comedies or tragedies.⁸ Undoubtedly, also, any play is to him a tragedy in which an important character dies. Thus it happens that two plays, the first and second parts of *Henry IV.*, which present at his best the greatest comic figure in all literature, Falstaff, are together referred to as a tragedy, "*Henry the 4.*"

What play did Meres refer to as "*Loue labours wonne*"?

Of course, it is possible that this drama has been lost, though students of Shakespeare have not generally considered this a likely alternative.

If *Love's Labour's Won*⁹ has not disappeared, the name must belong in some way to one of the plays now in our possession. The reference in Meres may represent one of two titles which were in use at the same time, and which were both applied to one of the plays that we now have, and to the form in which we have it. There are two dramas in the first folio edition of Shakespeare's plays to which double titles are given in the table of contents and in the page-headings: *Twelke Night, or, What you will*, and *Othello, the Moore of Venice*. The second of these is practically a double

⁶ The entire "comparatiue discourse," with several preceding pages, is printed in *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I, edited by C. M. INGLEBY, published for the New Shakspeare Society (London, 1874), pp. 151-67. ARBER prints the "comparatiue discourse" in full in his *English Garner*, Vol. II (Birmingham, 1879), pp. 94-106. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS prints all the passages in which Shakespeare is mentioned by name: *Outlines of the Life of Sh.*, 10th ed. (London, 1896), Vol. II, pp. 149-51. The text of Ingleby has been carefully followed in this paper, except that only the modern forms of *e*, *th*, and *a* have been used.

⁷ Professor J. M. Manly asks whether these words suggested to Shakespeare the following passage in *Twelfth Night*:

"*Clown*. What is the opinion of Pythagoras concerning wild fowl?"

"*Malvolio*. That the soul of our grandam might haply inhabit a bird.

"*Clown*. What thinkest thou of his opinion?"

"*Malvolio*. I think nobly of the soul, and no way approve his opinion.

"*Clown*. Fare thee well. Remain thou still in darkness: thou shalt hold the opinion of Pythagoras ere I will allow of thy wits, and fear to kill a woodcock, lest thou dispossess the soul of thy grandam. Fare thee well."—IV, ii, 54-65.

It seems probable that the words of Meres helped to suggest the passage in Shakespeare. Walker thought that the dramatist was here drawing directly from Ovid. See note in FURNESS's edition of *Twelfth Night*, Philadelphia, 1901.

⁸ The Shakespeare First Folio gives the name "Histories" to the plays named after the English Kings subsequent to the Norman Conquest, and prints these by themselves. The English historical dramas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have recently been made the subject of a careful study by PROFESSOR F. E. SCHILLING, *The English Chronicle Play*, New York, 1902.

⁹ The question of the proper form and interpretation of the titles *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won* will be considered in full under the discussion of *Much Ado about Nothing*. See pp. 21-5.

title; the earliest known reference to the play (by Wurmsser von Vendenheym, in 1610) calls it "l'histoire du More de Venise."¹⁰

On the opening page of each of five historical plays in the Folio, an elongated title appears, though not in the table of contents or in the ordinary page-headings. These full designations are: *The First Part of Henry the Fourth, with the Life and Death of Henry Sirnamed Hot-spurre*; *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth, Containing his Death: and the Coronation of King Henry the Fifth*; *The second Part of Henry the Sixth, with the death of the Good Duke Humfrey*; *The third Part of Henry the Sixth, with the death of the Duke of Yorke*; *The Tragedy of Richard the Third: with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell at Bosworth Field*.¹¹ These long appellations may fairly be classed with double titles.

Another possibility is that some play of Shakespeare now in existence represents the revised form of the earlier play known as *Love's Labour's Won*. In this case the probability would be that the present name was given to the new form at the time of the revision. It is so probable as to be almost certain that the play which appears in the page-headings of the First Folio as *The second Part of Henry the Sixth* received this name when the play took its present shape. The former title, *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, etc., appears on the title-page of the older version, first printed in 1594, out of which with many alterations and additions the play in the Folio was made. The play sometimes given in the page-headings of the Folio as *The third Part of Henry the Sixth*, sometimes as *The third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, bears a similar relation to the supposedly older play *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, etc., printed 1595. Whether in these two cases Shakespeare wrote any portion of the older plays is a question upon which scholars are not agreed. But this difference of opinion concerning the origin of two dramas in the Shakespearean canon is enough to suggest the possibility that some comedy of Shakespeare that we now have may have been known in an earlier version as *Love's Labour's Won*.

It is also possible that *Love's Labour's Won* received a new name without undergoing any change of form. If such were the case, we may presume that this new title commended itself as an improvement upon the old.

Mr. H. P. Stokes thinks the evidence conclusive that the following plays of Shakespeare, in addition to *Othello* and *Twelfth Night*, were each "(generally or occasionally) known by [two] different names": "the *Merchant of Venice*, or the 'Jew of Venice'; *Merry Wives of Windsor*, or 'Sir John Falstaff'; *1 Henry IV.*, or 'Hot-spur';¹² *Henry V.*, or 'Agincourt'; *2 and 3 Henry VI.*, or 'York and Lancaster,' &c.; *Henry VIII.*, or 'All is True'; *Much Ado*, &c., or 'Benedick and Beatrice'; *Julius Cæsar*, or 'Cæsar's Tragedy.'¹³

These, then, would seem to be the possible explanations why no play has come

¹⁰ *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, 2d ed. (London, 1879), p. 93.

¹² Compare the elongated title given above.

¹¹ The variations in the typography of these titles are not reproduced.

¹³ *Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays* (London, 1878), p. 110, note.

down to us with the title *Love's Labour's Won*: first, the play so designated is no longer extant; second, it once bore a double title, and the name by which we now know it is only a portion of its former full appellation; third, the change of the name *Love's Labour's Won* to that which now designates some one of the comedies that we know was connected in some way with a revision of the play; fourth, the title was changed for some other reason, presumably to secure one that was more appropriate.

Let us assume that *Love's Labour's Won* has come down to us in some form; and let us bear in mind the fact that no positive evidence connects this title with any particular comedy of Shakespeare. What conditions, then, ought one of the comedies to satisfy, and what characteristics ought it to possess, if it is to establish as good a claim as possible, in the absence of definite external evidence, to be identified with Meres's "*Loue labours wonne*"?

A first requirement seems to be that the comedy selected shall not appear by name in Meres's list. Strangely enough, two of the solutions that have been proposed identify *Love's Labour's Won* respectively with *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, though both of these plays are mentioned by Meres. There is an evident presumption against these views.

A second requirement is, of course, that no comedy can be considered to represent *Love's Labour's Won* unless it can be shown that the play either was, or at least may have been, in existence in some form as early as 1598. In the absence of definite external testimony, a great variety of evidence bearing upon the probable date of a particular play may need to be considered.

That the title *Love's Labour's Won* should aptly designate the course of the action in the play which we suppose to have been thus named, seems to be a third reasonable requirement. It is not entirely clear, however, that we have a right to expect that the name in question shall apply with peculiar fitness. The companion play, *Love's Labour's Lost*, is not very happily named. Tieck recognized this by giving to the German translation the title *Liebes Leid und Lust*. It may seem probable, just for this reason, that the other of the two parallel designations was peculiarly apt. But even if we were to accept this inconclusive argument as sound, we should not be greatly helped, since the phrase *Love's Labour's Won* is almost a formula for the action of a romantic comedy. We may almost exalt it to a class name, and speak of the love's-labour's-won comedies. Few good English comedies would fail to be included in this class. Says Furness:

Under *Love labours wonne*, I suppose he [Meres] may have had in mind any one of several Comedies, wherein the labours of love were successful, as they generally are in all Comedies.¹⁴

The similarity of the names *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won* leads us to expect parallelisms and correspondences between the plays themselves. Considerations of this nature may be of some service in testing the claim of any comedy to be accepted as having once borne the second of these designations. We

¹⁴ Preface to Variorum edition of *Much Ado About Nothing* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. xiv.

should expect the two companion plays to be similar in style and versification. Especially should we expect them to agree in tone, in spirit and mental attitude, in the mood which produced them and the mood which they produce. About the same proportion of jest and earnest would probably appear in each.

Just how far the two plays may fairly be expected to correspond in structure it is hard to say. The dramatist is so dependent upon the nature of his material that a very high degree of structural agreement, or similarity, even between two companion pieces, is hardly to be looked for. Still, some correspondence of action to action, feature to feature, and character to character, would be probable. We may therefore look upon agreement with *Love's Labour's Lost* in style and versification, agreement in tone, and correspondence in dramatic structure, as three more points to be considered in connection with any play that is proposed as a claimant for the title *Love's Labour's Won*.

It seems probable, also, that the play referred to by Meres, if compared with *Love's Labour's Lost*, would show many detailed similarities of thought and expression.

We have thus mentioned seven criteria, of various degrees of cogency, by which we may test the proposal to accept any particular comedy of Shakespeare as *Love's Labour's Won* under another name. To summarize these seven points in a few words, we may call them: absence from Meres's list, date, aptness of Meres's title, similarity to *Love's Labour's Lost* in style and versification, in tone, in structure, in details of thought and language. In treating each separate theory that we take up, it will usually be sufficient to refer to only those topics, or tests, among the seven just mentioned, under which definite evidence is presented.

The various theories which have been advanced concerning *Love's Labour's Won* will be considered in the following order:

- I. That *Love's Labour's Won* has been lost.
- II. That it is to be identified with *Love's Labour's Lost*.
- III. With *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.
- IV. With *The Tempest*.
- V. With *All's Well That Ends Well*.
- VI. With *Much Ado About Nothing*.
- VII. With *The Taming of the Shrew*.

It will be useful to have before us also the chronological order in which these theories were made public. So far as the writer can determine, the above views were put forth in the following succession:¹⁵

1. *All's Well*; proposed by Farmer in 1767.
2. *The Tempest*; by Hunter, 1839.
3. *Love's Labour's Lost*; by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, 1840.
4. That *Love's Labour's Won* has been lost; proposed by the same Quarterly Reviewer as an alternative solution, 1840.

¹⁵References will be given later under the separate theories.

5. *The Taming of the Shrew*; by Craik, 1857.
6. *Much Ado About Nothing*; by Brae, 1860.
7. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*; by von Westenholz, 1902.

As might be expected in view of the variety of opinions just indicated, there have not been wanting those who have either suggested or affirmed that the question will never admit of any fairly decisive settlement unless new evidence bearing upon it shall come to light. This inability to form any decided opinion may perhaps be said to constitute an eighth answer to the problem; but it has seemed best not to classify and treat this together with the seven more positive theories. The statements of some who hold this opinion against opinions, or incline toward it, will be noted at the close of the paper.

I. THE VIEW THAT THE PLAY CALLED "LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON" HAS BEEN LOST

A writer in the *Quarterly Review* is the sole representative of the theory concerning *Love's Labour's Won* which is to be discussed in the next division of this paper. As an alternative to that theory, however, he considers the view that the play in question has been lost to have much probability. In opposing Hunter's advocacy of *The Tempest* as the play sought for, he says:

Why should Mr. Hunter think it improbable that a play of Shakespeare's should be lost? Surely, in the troubled times of the fanatical and anti-theatrical generation which succeeded him, it was much more probable that, unless published immediately after his death, any work of our immortal dramatist's should be destroyed than preserved.¹⁶

Halliwell-Phillipps is strongly inclined to the view that our play has entirely disappeared. His words are:

Love Labours Won, a production which is nowhere else alluded to, is one of the numerous works of that time which have long since perished, unless its graceful appellation be the original or a secondary title of some other comedy.¹⁷

In his recent *Introduction to Shakespeare* Professor Dowden puts the matter thus:

The *Love's Labour's Won* which Meres names may be a lost play of Shakespeare, or possibly, as has been conjectured, *All's Well that Ends Well* in an earlier form may have borne this title.¹⁸

The fact that Fletcher's comedy *The Wild-Goose Chase* had been "long lost" when the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher appeared in 1647 might be thought to support the hypothesis now before us concerning *Love's Labour's Won*. But the publisher in his address to the readers lamented the absence of *The Wild-Goose Chase* as the only omission in his volume. Moreover, the play was soon recovered, and was published in 1652.

We should note, however, that there is no early mention of *All's Well that Ends Well*, or allusion to it;¹⁹ also that the only supposed early reference to *Measure for Measure*

¹⁶ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXV (1840), p. 481.

¹⁷ *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th ed. (London, 1898), Vol. I, p. 172.

¹⁸ London and New York, n. d., p. 30.—For the state-

ments in the next paragraph concerning *The Wild-Goose Chase*, see WARD, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, 2d ed. (London, 1890), p. 707.

¹⁹ HERFORD, *Eversley Sh.*, Vol. III, p. 111.

ure is one that we could not possibly recognize if we did not possess the text.²⁰ It is not impossible that an early comedy of Shakespeare should so far disappear from men's knowledge that the only trace to reach us should be the mention of the title by a single writer. We cannot be sure that no early and relatively unimportant play of Shakespeare had disappeared, simply because the editors of the Folio said nothing about any such loss.

II. "LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST"

The Quarterly Reviewer whose article has been noticed in the previous section offers also the following suggestion:

May not *Love's Labours Won* be the second part of the title of *Love's Labours Lost*? The passage in Meres, where the names immediately follow each other, would seem to countenance such a conjecture; and the story of the comedy would fully bear it out. In it *Love's Labours*—comic labours—are both *lost* and *won*: *lost*, because they led to a year of penance; and *won*, because, at the end of that year, they were to receive their reward.²¹

The fact, already referred to, that Tieck gave the title *Liebes Leid und Lust* to the German translation of this play, is an interesting recognition of the truth of the last sentence quoted.

When one reads the passage from Meres that furnishes the basis of our whole discussion, it seems perfectly clear that he mentions by name six different tragedies and six different comedies, all by Shakespeare. Dowden makes the natural comment: "It will be noticed that Meres mentions six plays of each kind, preserving a balanced symmetry which he affects." Dowden then adds: "Possibly he made omissions, possibly he pressed into his list the doubtful *Titus*, with the object of equalising the number of tragedies and comedies named by him."²²

How far does Meres "affect a balanced symmetry" in the sketch where occurs the passage that we are seeking to interpret? It is impossible for us to reprint the entire essay; but, as the six remaining references to Shakespeare fairly represent the style of the disquisition, and as they have an independent interest for students of the great dramatist, they are given here:

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by *Homer, Hesiod, Euripedes, Aeschilus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides*, and *Aristophanes*; and the Latine tongue by *Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ansonius* and *Claudianus*; so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abilliments by Sir *Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow* and *Chapman*.

* * * * *

As *Ouid* saith of his worke;

*Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

And as *Horace* saith of his; *Exegi monumentum aere perennius; Regalique situ pyramidum altius; Quod non imber edax; Non Aquilo impotens possit diruere; aut innumerabilis*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

²¹ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXV (1840), p. 482.

²² *Shakspeare Primer* (New York, 1879), p. 34.

annorum series & fuga temporum: so say I severally of sir Philip Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes;

*Non Iouis ira: imbres: Mars: ferrum: flamma, senectus,
Hoc opus unda: lues: turbo: venena ruent.
Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus evertendum tres illi Dij
conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, & pater ipse gentis;
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,
Aeternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.*

* * * * *

As Pindarus, Anacreon and Callimachus among the Greekes; and Horace and Catullus among the Latines are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are Spencer who excelleth in all kinds) Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.

As these Tragicke Poets flourished in Greece, Aeschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achaeus Erithriaeus, Astydamos Atheneinsis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus, and Timon Apolloniates; and these among the Latines, Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus and Seneca; so these are our best for Tragedie, the Lord Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxforde, maister Edward Ferris, the Authour of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker and Beniamin Iohnson.

* * * * *

The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis and Callias Atheniensis; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, Naeuius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus: so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowley once a rare Scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes one of her Maesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie Iohn Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundaye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle.

* * * * *

As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius²² Nicaeus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis and Pigres Halicarnassaeus; and these among the Latines, Maecenas, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Seuerus & Clodius Sabinus; so these are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue, Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat the elder, sir Francis Brian, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Rawley, sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page sometimes fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton.²⁴

In the first of the above passages, eight Greek and eight Roman writers are mated with eight Elizabethans. In the second passage, there is no "balanced symmetry." In each of the four remaining quotations there seems to be some attempt to make the number of classical writers mentioned equal to the number of Englishmen; but under

²² Ingleby and Arber have no comma here; Halliwell-Phillips has one. According to Suidas, Parthenius the elegiac writer was a Nicæan; and the word *Nicaeus* cannot here be explained in any other way. Miss Louise Prouty, of the Boston Public Library, states that the two following reprints of this passage show no comma between Parthe-

nus and Nicaeus: *Witts Academy, a Treasure of Goulden Sentences*, etc. . . . by Fr: M. . . . (London, 1636), Part 2, p. 623.—*Ancient critical essays upon English Poets and Poetry*, ed. by J. Haslewood, 1815.

²⁴ *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I, edited by C. M. Ingleby (London, 1874), pp. 157, 160-62.

the elegiac poets, according to the punctuation of Ingleby and Arber, fifteen English writers are set over against seven Greeks and seven Romans. The symmetry of the passage concerning "Poets for Comedy" is imperfect in all three of the reprints accessible to the writer; ten Greek and six Roman writers are balanced by seventeen Elizabethans.

The suggestion of the Quarterly Reviewer is, practically, that Meres pressed into service the double title of a single comedy in order to secure a merely formal symmetry, and thus make the titles of five comedies balance those of six tragedies. Since a similar explanation is brought forward more distinctly by von Westenholz in the next division of this paper, the discussion of the question will be deferred until then. The natural presumption is against this method of meeting the difficulty.

III. "A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM"

The view just examined makes *Love's Labour's Won* another name for the play *Love's Labour's Lost*. But there is about the same grammatical and *prima facie* basis for another suggestion, namely, that *Love's Labour's Won* is the first title, or the first half of the title, of the comedy which follows it in Meres's list, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. However, this view seems to have been first put forward in the present year (1902) in an acute and gracefully worded article by a German scholar, Professor von Westenholz.²²

If we disregard for the moment the manifest objection that Meres seems to mention six different comedies to balance six tragedies, it is really surprising how much von Westenholz finds in support of his conjecture. He insists that in a play which is to be identified with *Love's Labour's Won* we must expect to find a parallelism with *Love's Labour's Lost* corresponding to the intentional parallelism in the titles. Agreement in the general tone, and marked correspondences in the action and the characters, are to be looked for.

Von Westenholz finds only two comedies in all those of Shakespeare which in general plan and in tone (*nach Anlage und Tonart*) can be accepted as mentally and spiritually related (*geistig verwandt*) to *Love's Labour's Lost*. These are *As You Like It* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*; and in the former of these the other correspondences desired are wanting.

This critic considers that the Duke, Lysander, and Demetrius, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, correspond to three of the lovers in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the King, Longaville, and Dumain. He even finds the agreement in the initials of the courtiers' names to be significant, since the Elizabethans did "something affect the letter."

Biron as a lover has no analogue in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, but as humorist and interpreter of the action we find a counterpart in Puck. It is Biron and Puck who express the contrast in the outcome of the two plays in contrasted

²² "Shakespeares 'Gewonnene Liebesmäh,'" in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, January 14, 1902, pp. 77-9.

passages, which remind us at once of the titles *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won*:

Our wooing doth not end like an old play;
Jack hath not Jill.

—*L. L. Lost*, V, ii, 884, 885.

Jack shall have Jill;
Nought shall go ill.

—*A M.-N. Dream*, III, ii, 461, 462.

The daring suggestion is made that perhaps Puck is called Robin because that name contains the same letters that are in *Biron*. We may add that the strange identification of the dainty Puck with Robin Goodfellow (*A M.-N. D.*, II, i, 34), the toiling "lubber fiend" of Milton's *L'Allegro*, is thus given a still stranger explanation.

Von Westenholz sets over against each other the play, or procession, of the Nine Worthies, in one comedy, and the foolish characters who produce it, and, in the other, the play of Pyramus and Thisbe, and the craftsmen-actors. This is in many ways a striking parallel. The correspondence which is noted between Armado's lofty wooing of Jaquenetta and Titania's infatuation for Bottom is less marked.

The fact that Bottom jests with each of the other servants of Titania but not with Moth (*A M.-N. D.*, III, i; IV, i), von Westenholz explains by the bold supposition that Moth was a character added after the completion of the play, solely for the purpose of reminding us of the little page bearing that name in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

It is suggested by von Westenholz that *Love's Labour's Lost* failed to keep the stage because of its weakness as an acting play; that this setting aside of its companion-piece took away the special significance of the title *Love's Labour's Won*; and that the play which had borne this last name came to be known later as *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. This new appellation should be interpreted as a fanciful suggestion concerning the origin of the play; thus we escape the difficulty that the action closes on the evening of May Day. Meres is supposed to have used the double title both for the sake of greater clearness, the play having borne each name in turn, and especially that he might preserve a superficial balance between the two parts of his list.

The Taming of the Shrew, which is believed to have been in existence, was perhaps excluded because of its excessive borrowing from its source, the comedy called *The Taming of a Shrew* (*wegen der allzu engen Anlehnung an die Vorlage*), or for other reasons.

To say that Meres put in a double title for one comedy in order to preserve an outward equality between the two divisions of his catalogue, skilfully turns the flank of those who have relied upon the symmetry and balance of the "comparative discourse" as proving that each half of the list contains six plays. According to von Westenholz, Meres was indeed so fond of outward symmetry that he was content to balance six titles representing five comedies against six titles representing six tragedies. In saying this, von Westenholz is really supporting the theory of the Quarterly

Reviewer concerning *Love's Labour's Lost*, examined in the previous section, just as much as his own.

One cannot help feeling that it would have been more natural for Francis Meres to drop one of the tragedies from his catalogue, naming only five dramas of each kind, than to set over against an actual play a mere cipher, a dummy title.

Von Westenholz might well have called attention to the fact known to all that the Folio and the early quartos show us not a single play of "*Henry the 4.*," as cited by Meres, but two plays, *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth* and *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*. Even if we admit that Meres felt his title "*Henry the 4.*" to represent two closely related dramas and not one long drama, this method of reducing or compressing seven titles to six in the list of tragedies offers little support to the conjecture that five real titles were extended to six apparent ones in the list of comedies.

The First Folio, as is well known, prints the plays of Shakespeare in three separate divisions, called in the preliminary "Catalogue," or table of contents, "Comedies, Histories, Tragedies;" and the "Histories," the plays named from English kings subsequent to the Norman Conquest, are given in their historical order. Von Westenholz argues from these facts that it is very probable that the order in which the plays are printed in the two other divisions of the Folio is based upon some real principle or principles, although the existing arrangement has not seemed to show any distinct plan. He finds it significant that *Love's Labour's Lost* is followed immediately in the Folio by what he believes to be its companion play, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Meres names these two plays together and in the same order, if we admit that *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* is first designated by a former title *Love's Labour's Won*.

It is a striking fact, which the present writer has not seen noted, that the comedies named by Meres, disregarding the uncertain *Love's Labour's Won*, are printed in the Folio in the order in which he names them, though not consecutively. This is made clear in the following table :

Folio Order	Order in Meres
<i>The Tempest</i>	
<i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	<i>Gentlemen of Verona</i>
<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	
<i>Measure for Measure</i>	
<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	<i>Errors</i>
<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	
<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	<i>Loue labors lost</i>
	<i>Loue labours wonne</i>
<i>A Midsummer-Night's Dream</i>	<i>Midsummers night dreame</i>
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	<i>Merchant of Venice</i>
<i>As You Like It</i>	
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	
<i>All's Well that Ends Well</i>	
<i>Twelfth Night; or, What You Will</i>	
<i>The Winter's Tale</i>	

How shall we account for this strange agreement in the order of the Folio and of Meres? Can it be that the editors of the Folio were acquainted with the passage in the "comparative discourse," and consciously or unconsciously made their arrangement agree therewith? If the list of Meres is to conform throughout to the order of the Folio, as it does in the case of the five known comedies which it contains, then we are limited, apparently, to the three theories concerning *Love's Labour's Won* that have now been presented, namely: *Love's Labour's Won* has been lost; the name is a second title for *Love's Labour's Lost*; the name is a first title for *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.

The acuteness and skill with which von Westenholz has worked out and presented his theory almost blind one to its fundamental difficulty. Some of his arguments have undeniable force.

IV. "THE TEMPEST"

Much attention has been given during the past thirty years to the question of the chronological order in which Shakespeare's plays were written. In other words, men have studied more carefully than ever before the progressive development of Shakespeare's mind and art. Every student of the subject knows that, as one result of this inquiry, *The Tempest* has come to be accepted as one of the latest plays of its great author. The comedy shows in a high degree those peculiarities of versification, style, and spirit which have been found to mark the closing period of Shakespeare's writing. It seems really impossible that the play can have been in existence at the time when Meres wrote his "comparative discourse."

We shall therefore give but little space to the theory of Rev. Joseph Hunter that *Love's Labour's Won* is a name that was once given to *The Tempest*. This view was published in a separate *Disquisition* in 1839, and Hunter enlarged and fortified his statement of it in his *New Illustrations of Shakespeare* in 1845.²⁶

In what way is it [asks Hunter] that Prospero makes trial of the *love* of Ferdinand for Miranda? How, but by imposing upon him certain *labours*? The particular kind of labour is the placing in a pile logs of firewood. He serves in this as Jacob did for Rachel, *winning* his bride from her austere father by them. In other words he proves the sincerity of his affection to the satisfaction of Prospero by the faithfulness with which he performs these labours, and thus his *love labours win* the consent of Prospero to their union.²⁷

Concerning Hunter's fundamental contention that *Love's Labour's Won* is a fitting designation for *The Tempest*, Knight observes:

Our belief in the significancy of Shakspeare's titles would be at an end if even a "main incident" was to suggest a name, instead of the general course of the thought or action.²⁸

Says Furness upon the same point:

For us who are not convinced by Hunter's arguments, it is sufficient to remember that Prospero's object in subjecting the young Prince to his power was gained as much after the first

²⁶ Vol. I, Part II, pp. 123-39. Abundant extracts are given in FURNESS'S Variorum edition of *The Tempest* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 234-94.

²⁷ *New Illustrations*, Vol. I, Part II (London, 1845), p. 131.

²⁸ Edition Shakspeare, 2d ed. (London, 1842), Introduction to *All's Well*, Vol. I, p. 335.

Instead of the full title of an edition of the complete works of the dramatist, the abbreviation "Ed. Shakspeare" (Shakspeare, etc.) will sometimes be used.

[log] had been carried, as after the thousandth, and that the labour in itself amounted to nothing, and could really win nothing; Miranda's hand was not set as the price of it, and in fact Prospero had adopted Ferdinand as his future son-in-law before he was shipwrecked, so that it could not have been any labours of Ferdinand that won Miranda.²⁹

Hunter was never able to gain adherents to his view, and the later developments of Shakespearean study have deprived this theory both of probability and interest. The further arguments for and against it are accessible in Furness's edition of *The Tempest*, and need not be detailed here.

V. "ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL"

We have noted that Tyrwhitt first called attention to Meres's book in 1766. Farmer, in his essay *On the Learning of Shakespeare*, 1767, was the first to offer a suggestion as to the meaning of the enigmatical title found in Meres. He speaks of "All's Well that Ends Well, or, as I suppose it to have been sometimes called, Love's Labour Wonne."³⁰

Farmer's conjecture was probably suggested by the fitness of the title *Love's Labour's Won*, considered by itself, to serve as a designation for *All's Well*. Malone in 1778, in the first edition of his essay, *An Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakspeare Were Written*, accepted Farmer's conjecture, and gave to *All's Well* the date 1598, the very year when we are to suppose that it is mentioned by Meres under another name. "No other of our authour's plays," Malone declared, "could have borne that title [*Love's Labour's Won*] with so much propriety."³¹ Nevertheless, the mature style of certain portions caused Malone later to assign 1606 as a more probable date for the writing of this comedy.³²

The difficulty which compelled this scholar to abandon his first opinion would probably have prevented a general acceptance of Farmer's conjecture, had not another peculiarity of *All's Well* made it seem entirely feasible to combine in one theory all that was essential in both of Malone's opinions, apparently contradictory though they were. According to Collier, Coleridge expressed the opinion "in 1811, and again in 1818, though it is not found in his 'Literary Remains,' that 'All's Well that Ends Well,' as it has come down to us, was written at two different, and rather distant periods of the poet's life. He pointed out very clearly two distinct styles, not only of thought, but of expression."³³

In his *Lectures on Shakspeare*, as now collected and published, Coleridge speaks of *All's Well* as having been "originally intended as the counterpart of 'Love's Labour's Lost.'"³⁴ It is clear, therefore, that he accepted also the suggestion of Farmer.

Two facts already indicated—the *prima facie* fitness of the title *Love's Labour's Won* to designate the play of *All's Well*, and the apparent existence in the play side by

²⁹ Variorum ed. of *The Tempest*, p. 288.

³⁰ The BOSWELL-MALONE Variorum edition of Shakespeare (London, 1821), Vol. I, p. 314.

³¹ Edition Shakespeare (London, 1790), Vol. I, Part I, p. 319.

³² Variorum Shakespeare of 1821, edited by BOSWELL AND MALONE, Vol. II, p. 406.

³³ Ed. Shakespeare, J. P. COLLIER, 2d ed. (London, 1858), Vol. II, p. 529.

³⁴ London, 1865 (1863), p. 249.

side of two widely dissimilar styles of writing — have led perhaps the majority of Shakespearean students at the same time to accept the identification proposed by Farmer, and to admit that portions of *All's Well* are later than 1598. While no two of these critics would express themselves in just the same way, Collier's statement of the matter is a fairly representative one:

My notion is that "All's Well that Ends Well" was in the first instance, and prior to 1598, called "Love's Labour's Won," and that it had a clear reference to "Love's Labour's Lost," of which it might be considered the counterpart. It was then, perhaps, laid by for some years, and revived by its author, with alterations and additions, about 1605 or 1606, when the new title of "All's Well that Ends Well" was given to it.²⁵

The theory that in the title *Loue labours wonne* Meres refers to an earlier form of the play *All's Well that Ends Well* has been held by Coleridge (as already indicated), Tieck, Collier (already cited), Lloyd, Verplanck, Dyce, White, Gervinus, von Friesen, Ward, Elze, Fleay (first opinion), Furnivall, Stokes, Hudson, Boyle, Brandes, and Herford.²⁶

Those scholars who believe that *All's Well* existed in its present form as early as 1598 are able to identify that play with *Love's Labour's Won* without any reference to the question whether or not it ever underwent a revision. This is in general the position of Farmer (already cited), of Drake (who was perhaps ignorant of Coleridge's opinion), of Ulrici, Knight, Staunton, Delius, W. König, Kreyssig, and Sidney Lee.²⁷

The critics just named attach no importance to the suggestion that *All's Well* experienced revision. Knight, to be sure, speaks of the possibility that the comedy may have been first produced "in an imperfect form."²⁸ W. König thinks that a later revision, if it took place at all, cannot have been of any importance. Delius finds no grounds for the view that *All's Well* was composed at different periods. He gives the date as 1598, on account of the supposed reference in Meres, but says that the style of the play would suggest a later period.

²⁵ Ed. Shakespeare, 1858, Vol. II, p. 530.

²⁶ The names of the above critics are given approximately in chronological order. A date added in brackets in the next paragraph represents either the year of the original edition of the work cited, or the date at which the opinion in question is believed to have been made public, though the present writer cannot be sure what is in a book that he has not seen.

The authors named have been consulted in the following editions: Tieck, quoted in KNIGHT's ed. *Shakspeare* (London, 1842 [1841]), Vol. I, pp. 337, 338 (the sets of Tieck consulted seem not to contain all of his writings on Shakespeare); LLOYD, *Critical Essays on the Plays of Sh.* (London, 1894 [in Singer's 2d ed. of Sh., 1856]), p. 141; VERPLANCK, quoted by WHITE (see below), Vol. V, p. 9; DYCE, *The Works of Sh.*, 5th ed. (London, 1886 [1857]), Vol. III, p. 195; WHITE, *The Works of Sh.*, Vol. V (Boston, 1857), pp. 7-10; GERVINUS, *Shakespeare Commentaries*, trans. by BUNNETT, 5th ed. (London, 1892 [3d German ed., 1862]), pp. 173, 174; VON FRIESEN, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Vol. II (1867), pp. 48-54; WARD, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, 2d ed. (London, 1899 [1875]), pp. 117-19; ELZE, *William Sh.*, trans. by SCHMITZ (London, 1888 [1876]),

p. 336; FLEAY, *Shakespeare Manual* (London, 1876 [1874]), pp. 224-6; FURNIVALL, *Intro. to Leopold Shakspeare* (London, 1881 [1877]), p. lxi; STOKES, *Chronological Order of Sh.'s Plays* (London, 1878), pp. 110-13; HUDSON, *Harvard Shakespeare* (Boston, 1880-81), Vol. IV, pp. 3-6; BOYLE, "All's Well that Ends Well and Love's Labour's Won," *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIV (1890), pp. 408-21; BRANDES, *William Shakespeare* (one-volume edition of English translation) (New York, 1899), pp. 47-9, 363, 399; HERFORD, *Eversley Sh.* (London, 1899), Vol. III, pp. 111-18.

²⁷ DRAKE, *Shakspeare and His Times* (London, 1817), Vol. II, pp. 422, 423; ULRICI, *Shakspeare's Dramatic Art* (London, no date [published 1839, translated 1876]), Vol. I, pp. 84, 90; KNIGHT, ed. *Shakspeare*, 2d ed. (London, 1842 [1841]), Vol. I, pp. 329-33; STAUNTON, *The Works of Sh.*, illus. by GILBERT (London, 1851 [1857]), Vol. VI, p. 125; DELIUS, *Shaksperes Werke*, neue Ausg. (Elberfeld, 1864), Einleitung zu *All's Well*; W. KÖNIG, *Jahrbuch d. deutschen Sh.-Gesellschaft*, Vol. X (1875), p. 215; KREYSSIG, *Vorlesungen über Sh.*, 3te Aufl. (Berlin, 1877 [1862]), Vol. II, p. 301; S. LEE, *A Life of William Sh.* (New York and London, 1898), p. 162.

²⁸ Edition cited, Vol. I, pp. xliv, 338.

Some of those who uphold the view of Coleridge are very positive in asserting that *All's Well* contains passages written at widely separated dates. White and Verplanck state that they formed this opinion before learning that it had been held by Coleridge. Hudson and Boyle think that the contrast between the two styles, "the Poet's rawest and ripest styles" (Hudson), is pronounced. Furnivall declares that "no intelligent person can read the play without being struck by the contrast of early and late work in it."

Boyle has probably presented more fully and carefully than any one else the evidence for the view that *All's Well* has been revised from an earlier version;³⁹ while Hertzberg, who does not accept the identification with *Love's Labour's Won*, has given the only detailed argument known to the present writer in support of the opinion of Delius that *All's Well* was written at one burst (*aus einem Guss*).⁴⁰

This controversy must be briefly outlined here. The following passage is a specimen of those parts of *All's Well* that are considered to be of early date:

Helena. The great'st grace lending grace,
Ere twice the horses of the sun shall bring
Their fiery torcher his diurnal ring,
Ere twice in murk and occidental damp
Moist Hesperus hath quench'd his sleepy lamp,
Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass,
What is infirm from your sound parts shall fly,
Health shall live free, and sickness freely die.

— II, i, 163-71.

The Marlowe-like rhetoric and the youthful formalism of these lines are noticeable. Other portions of the play that seem to show Shakespeare's early style are: Helena's rhymed soliloquy at the close of the first scene—I, i, 231-44; and the indelicate conversation a little earlier between Helena and Parolles—I, i, 121-78. The hiatus at l. 179 seems to indicate that parts have been carelessly patched together.

Shakespeare's earlier versification seems to mark portions of *All's Well*. All passages in which rhymes are abundant have been called early by some, irrespective of deeper considerations. Herford has carefully discriminated and summarized the evidence from the rhyme.⁴¹ Some rhymed passages are plainly of an early type. Hertzberg points out the number and quality of the run-on lines (*enjambements*) in the last speech of the first scene, as a proof that it cannot be early; but the fact that such lines as the following are found in one hundred consecutive lines of *Love's Labour's Lost* seems to show that he has made too much of this: V, ii, 326, 327, 343, 351, 355, 367, 376, 408, 416. Note for example:

(*Biron*) This is the ape of form, monsieur the nice,
That, when he plays at tables, chides the dice

³⁹ *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIV (1890), pp. 408-21.

⁴⁰ *Shakespeare's dramatische Werke*, nach der Uebersetzung von Schlegel und Tieck unter Redaction von H. Ulrici, herausgegeben durch die deutsche

Sh.-Gesellschaft, 2te Aufl. 1897 (1ste, 1871), Berlin; *Einkleitung zu Ende gut, Alles gut*, Vol. XI, pp. 345-62.

⁴¹ *The Every-day Sh.*, Vol. III, pp. 111-13.

In honorable terms : nay, he can sing
 A mean most meanly; and in ushering
 Mend him who can. —V, ii, 325-9.

Arguments for the early date of portions of *All's Well* have been found in the colorless personality of the clown and his lack of connection with the action;⁴² in the fact that Parolles seems a first sketch for Falstaff (Tieck); in the indelicate conversations; in the agreements of thought between the dialogue of Helena and Parolles already referred to (I, i, 121-78) and the first seventeen of the Sonnets (these dwell upon the duty of having offspring); and in the inconsistencies in the portrayal of Helena and Parolles.⁴³

A few features suggest a special connection of *All's Well* with *Love's Labour's Lost*. The First and Second Lords in one play and one of the four suitors in the other have the same name, Dumain. Certain similarities exist between the characters Parolles and Armado.⁴⁴ The tone of the indecorous jesting in the two plays is very similar.

No better example can be given of the mature manner that marks portions of *All's Well* than the farewell words of the Countess to Bertram. This advice reminds us of that given by Polonius to Laertes, but surpasses that both in brevity and depth.

Countess. Be thou blest, Bertram, and succeed thy father
 In manners, as in shape ! thy blood and virtue
 Contend for empire in thee, and thy goodness
 Share with thy birthright ! Love all, trust a few,
 Do wrong to none : be able for thine enemy
 Rather in power than use, and keep thy friend
 Under thy own life's key : be check'd for silence,
 But never tax'd for speech. What heaven more will,
 That thee may furnish and my prayers pluck down,
 Fall on thy head ! — I, i, 70-79.

Other passages showing Shakespeare's riper style are: Helena's soliloquy expressing her love for Bertram — I, i, 90-109; and her decision to leave Rousillon — III, ii, 102-32.

Some of the maturer passages in *All's Well* have parallels in *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*.⁴⁵ One connection with *Hamlet* has just been pointed out.

The disagreements between the dates assigned to this play by reputable critics seem to demand some such explanation as that afforded by the theory that an early play or fragment was afterward revised or completed. The dates of Knight,⁴⁶ 1589-93, and Ulrici,⁴⁷ 1591-92, are in marked contrast with that of Malone,⁴⁸ 1606. Such a difference of opinion as this can hardly be paralleled in the case of another of Shakespeare's plays.

⁴² VON FRIESEN, *Jahrbuch*, Vol. II, p. 52.

⁴³ BOYLE, *Eng. Studien*, Vol. XIV, pp. 416-18.

⁴⁴ BRANDES, *William Sh.*, one-vol. ed., p. 49.

⁴⁵ BOYLE, p. 416; BRANDES, pp. 393 ff.

⁴⁶ Ed. Shakspeare, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. xlv. Judging from statements in other writers, Knight has somewhere given the date as 1590.

⁴⁷ *Sh.'s Dramatic Art*, Vol. II, p. 410.

⁴⁸ The BOSWELL-MALONE Variorum, 1821, Vol. II, p. 406.

A direct reference to the supposed former title of the comedy has been seen by some in one line of *All's Well*, and a possible reference to its two names in another line:

(*Helena*) Will you be mine, now you are doubly won?

—V, iii, 315.

(*King*) All is well ended, if this suit be won,

That you express content. —V, iii, 336-7 (*Epilogue*).

Boyle has pointed out some inadvertences and inconsistencies which seem to him to support the view that the play experienced revision, but they hardly prove anything more than carelessness.

The different conjectures as to when and why the supposed former title of this play was replaced by the present one are of interest. The usual view is the one already expressed by Collier, namely, that the comedy once existed in an earlier form, which was known as *Love's Labour's Won*, that when it was revised into its present condition it received for that reason its new name. The frequent references to the proverbial title, *All's Well that Ends Well*, occur in passages showing the later style (IV, iv, 35; V, i, 25; V, iii, 333, 336), and are usually looked upon as intentional references to the new name that was already selected. Malone, in stating his first opinion, conjectured that it was the presence of the proverb in the text that brought about the change of name.⁴⁹ Staunton thinks that the play "was originally intitled 'Love's Labour's Won; or, All's Well that End's Well.'" ⁵⁰ Ulrici⁵¹ and Kreyssig⁵² suggest that the change was made in order to avoid inappropriate comparisons between this play and *Love's Labour's Lost*.

The consciousness of having a large majority of Shakespearean scholars with them has led some of the later advocates of *All's Well* to speak with unwarranted confidence. Brandes goes so far as to say:

Since it is scarcely conceivable that a play of Shakespeare's, once acted, should have been entirely lost, the only question is, which of the extant comedies originally bore that title [*Love's Labour's Won*]. But in reality there is no question at all: the play is *All's Well that Ends Well*—not, of course, as we now possess it, in a form and style belonging to a quite mature period of the poet's life, but as it stood before the searching revision, of which it shows evident traces.⁵³

In spite of the popularity of the view that *All's Well* was referred to by Meres as *Love's Labour's Won*, and in spite of the arguments in its favor, there are grave objections. *All's Well* has, indeed, certain characteristics that seem to favor its claim, but it has also fundamental deficiencies. In the first place, no close connection between this comedy and its supposed brother-play has been pointed out. The marked correspondences and parallelisms between the two pieces which we properly expect to find, do not exist. The titles *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won* seem intended to designate companion-plays. *All's Well* is not a good companion-piece to *Love's Labour's Lost*, and it seems safe to say that it never was.

⁴⁹ Ed. Shakspeare (London, 1790), Vol. I, Part I, p. 319.

⁵⁰ Ed. Shakspeare (London, 1881 [1857]), Vol. VI, p. 125.

⁵¹ *SH.'s Dramatic Art*, Vol. II, p. 90.

⁵² *Vorlesungen über SH.*, 3te Aufl. (Berlin, 1877), Vol. II, p. 301.

⁵³ *William SH.*, one-vol. edition (New York, 1899), p. 47.

In the second place, there is a marked contrast in tone, in mood, between these two plays that are supposed to have been thus closely associated; and this contrast can hardly have been preceded in an earlier version of *All's Well* by any genuine and deep-seated agreement. The central situation of *All's Well*, the desperate venture of the indomitable Helena, would be intolerable if treated in the tone of easy banter that distinguishes *Love's Labour's Lost*. A Helena who was not fundamentally serious would be nothing — yes, worse than nothing.

All's Well satisfies some of the conditions, then, that must be met by a play that is a candidate for the title *Love's Labour's Won*; what may fairly be termed the more fundamental conditions it does not satisfy.

Kenny uttered some plain truth on this subject nearly forty years ago, when he said:

Coleridge believed that "All's Well that Ends Well" was originally intended as the counterpart of "Love's Labour's Lost." But we can discover no indication of any such intention, and there is, we think, as little resemblance between the two works as between any other two comedies of their author.⁵⁴

Ingleby tells us:

Love[s] Labours Wonne . . . has not been satisfactorily identified with any of the plays in our collection. For one thing, we do not think it likely to be *All's well that ends well*, as Farmer conjectured, which, in our opinion, offers no sufficient resemblance or contrast to serve as a pendant to *Loves Labours Lost*.⁵⁵

With the following well-considered words of von Westenholz we close this division of the subject:

Aber selbst wenn die Handlung von "Ende gut, alles gut" mehr als die eines anderen Lustspiels den Titel "Gewonnene Liebesmüh" rechtfertigen sollte, so ist doch noch ein sehr wichtiger Umstand dabei unberücksichtigt geblieben. Jener Titel kam dem Stücke, das ihn trug, gewissermassen nicht, oder doch nicht in erster Linie, um seiner selbst willen zu, vielmehr erhielt es denselben offenbar in gewollter Gegenüberstellung zu der bereits vorhandenen "Verlorenen Liebesmüh."

Derselbe Parallelismus aber, der zwischen den beiden Titeln bestand, musste naturgemäss auch zwischen den beiden Stücken selbst zutage treten und zwar in Bezug auf die Vorgänge, auf die Personen und vor allem auf den Charakter oder anders ausgedrückt, auf die Stimmung, in welche die Handlung gewissermassen getaucht erscheint.

Namentlich in letzterer Hinsicht aber dürfte es schwer sein, in der Reihe der Shakespeare'schen Komödien zwei zu finden, welche *weniger* zu einander passen. Hier, bei fast völliger Abwesenheit dramatischer Handlung, auf halb romantischem Hintergrund ein anmuthiges Tändeln mit Worten, ein sprühendes Feuerwerk des Witzes, *dort* in schwerer, nicht selten derber Sprache ein ernster, mehr schau- als lustspielmässiger Stoff, dessen herbe, peinlich berührende Seiten die Kunst Shakespeares nur zu mildern, nicht zu unterdrücken vermochte.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *The Life and Genius of Sh.* (London, 1864), p. 202.

⁵⁵ *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, January 14, 1902,

⁵⁶ *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I (London, 1874). p. 78.
General Intro., p. xxiv.

VI. "MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING"

In the year 1860, in an anonymous book, Mr. A. E. Brae argued that *Much Ado* should be accepted as the true *Love's Labour's Won*.⁵¹

The date of 1599 is usually given to *Much Ado*, because it seems to be omitted from Meres's list of 1598, while it was published in quarto form in 1600. Since the title-page of this first edition tells us that "it hath been sundrie times publikey acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants,"⁵² Brae argues very plausibly that there is no grave difficulty about the date. Furness points out also that the two other comedies which were published in 1600, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice*, are found in Meres.⁵³

Brae would apply the title *Love's Labour's Won* to the story of Benedict and Beatrice. The name *Much Ado about Nothing* plainly applies to the action of Claudio and Hero. The reference to a play "called Benedicte and Betteris" in an item in the Lord-Treasurer Stanhope's Accounts for May 20, 1613, suggests "that the present title was not always adhered to."⁵⁴ Halliwell-Phillipps says, also, "that Charles the First, in his copy of the Second Folio, preserved in Windsor Castle, has added the names 'Benedick and Beatrice,' as a second title."⁵⁵

Before we examine Brae's interpretation of the titles *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won*, let us see what authority we have for the exact form in which they are usually given. We have noted that the two designations appear in Meres as *Loue labors lost* and *Loue labours wonne*. "*Loues labors lost*" is the form on the title-page of the first quarto of the play. The head-line of each right-hand page throughout the book is *Loues Labor's lost*. In the quarto the apostrophe frequently marks the abbreviation 's for is, but seems not to be used before an -s that denotes a possessive case, a plural of a noun, or the third singular indicative of a verb. It seems clear, therefore, as Furnivall points out,⁵⁶ that *Labor's* is meant as a contraction for *Labor is*.

The First Folio has *Loues Labour lost* in the preliminary "Catalogue," or table of contents, and *Loues Labour's lost* as the heading for each page of the text. The proper form of the title in modern spelling would therefore seem to be *Love's Labo(u)r's Lost*. The corresponding title would naturally be *Love's Labo(u)r's Won*.

Hertzberg feels, however, that in the case of *Love's Labour's Won*, the *Labour's* must be interpreted as an abbreviation for *Labour has*, since one does not *win labour*, though he may *lose labour*.⁵⁷ Probably this difficulty will not seem important to one

⁵¹ Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare, by the author of *Literary Cookery* (London, 1860), chap. vi, pp. 131-48. The present writer used the copy in the Boston Public Library. The extracts in FURNESS's Variorum ed. of *Much Ado* (Phila., 1899), pp. 367-71, are ample.

⁵² See FURNESS's Variorum *Much Ado*, p. xlii.

⁵³ FURNESS's *Much Ado*, p. xiv.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xxi, 368.

⁵⁵ The quotation is from FURNESS, *Much Ado*, p. xlii. He cites "HALLIWELL, *Outlines*, etc., p. 262," as his authority. The writer of this article has not found the statement in his copy of the 10th ed. of the *Outlines*.

⁵⁶ GRIGGS, Facsimile of the First Quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost*, n. to p. iii of Forewords.

⁵⁷ *Sh.'s dramatische Werke*, nach der Uebersetzung von . . . Schlegel und . . . Tieck . . . 2te Aufl. (Berlin, 1897), Vol. XI, Einleitung zu *Ende gut, Alles gut*, p. 345, note.

whose native tongue is English. It seems easy to interpret *labour* as put by metonymy for the object of the labour, the desired result. Then *Love's Labour's Won* would mean "the desired result of the labor is won, has been obtained." This explanation would also apply to the companion title, if desired. Hertzberg could find no example in Shakespeare of the use of 's as an abbreviation for *has*; but a difficult expression in *The Tempest* is thought by many to be an example of this contraction: "For he's a spirit of persuasion" (II, i, 235). It does not seem probable, however, that this abbreviation can be found in an early play, least of all in the title. Frequent and bold abbreviations of common words and combinations, apparently taken from colloquial usage, are a distinct mark of Shakespeare's latest style.

But we are not yet through with the labor — whether of love or aversion — which falls to those who would fully consider the question of the significance of these troublesome titles. Brae offers an interpretation of his own:

It seems to have escaped notice on all hands that the *mythological* sense of *Love's Labour* would be much more consonant with the age in which Shakespeare wrote, than the *sentimental* sense. That is, that *Love's Labours* in the dramatic writing of that time, would be much more likely to be understood as the *gests* or *exploits* of the *deity* Love, in the same sense as the fabled *Labours of Hercules*.

That such is really the intention of the title in the case of *Love's Labour's Lost*, must become apparent to any one who will attentively read the play with that previous notion. He will then perceive abundant evidence, all through, that it is the mythical exploits of the blind god that are alluded to:—in overcoming the apparently insurmountable difficulties opposed to him; in setting at nought the vows of the king and his courtiers; and in bringing to the feet of the princess and her ladies the very men who had forsworn all women. After scattering human resolves to the winds, and reducing to subjection the hearts that had presumed to set him at defiance, Love at length succumbs to a still more absolute deity than himself. *Death* steps in to frustrate his designs, at the very instant of fruition, and so his labour becomes *Labour Lost*.

The mythological allusions are unmistakeable. Biron exclaims, when the King enters love-stricken, "*Proceed, sweet Cupid: thou hast thumped him with thy bird-bolt under the left pap*" [IV, iii, 22-4]. In another place, "*Love*" is "*a Hercules, still climbing trees in the Hesperides*" [IV, iii, 340, 341], a direct reference to the mythological labours of Hercules! And when the whole "mess of fools" yield themselves, rescue or no rescue, the King personifies Love and invokes him as his patron,—"*Saint Cupid, then! and, soldiers, to the field!*" [IV, iii, 366].

Now, according to the interpretation the title of this play has hitherto received at the hands of Shakespeare's editors, the mythological sense is ignored. The love's labour which, according to them, is lost, is not *Love's* labour, but that of the King and his fellows, "*in their endeavours*," as Mr. Knight explains, "*to ingratiate themselves with their mistresses*." But surely such an explanation excludes the most prominent labour of all, the conquest of the men themselves! They, so far from being partakers in the labour, are unwilling victims,—each ashamed to acknowledge his defeat to his fellows. This was the triumph, this was the exploit,—and, being attributable to Love alone, it is of itself almost sufficient to establish the true meaning of the title.

Mr. Brae now seeks to win from his interpretation of this title an argument for his contention that *Much Ado* is the desired *Love's Labour's Won*:

In mythological language, a *labour* was an achievement of great and supernatural difficulty, to be undertaken only by the Gods and Heroes; from the analogy, then, of the assumed meaning of that word in *Love's Labour's Lost*, something of the same character must naturally be looked for in whatever play may have borne the companion title of *Love's Labour's Won*; and it is now to be shown that in no other available play is there so much of that character as in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

In it, the same difficulty is encountered in bringing together sworn enemies to Love, who profess to set him at defiance; the same forced subjection of unwilling victims who are confidently boasting of their freedom.

So completely is this recognized as a *labour*, that Don Pedro, the match maker, who must meddle with everybody's love affairs, and fancy them his own doing, exclaims:—"I will . . . undertake one of Hercules' labours; which is, to bring Signior Benedick and the Lady Beatrice into a mountain of affection the one with the other" [II, i, 379-83]. Here, then, in *Love's Labour's Won* (?), is the same literal reference to the *Labours of Hercules* as that before noted in *Love's Labour's Lost*!

But it is in the numerous allusions to the deity Love, and to his exploits, that the most conclusive similitude exists;—"Nay, if Cupid have not spent all his quiver in Venice, thou wilt quake for this shortly" [I, i, 273, 274]. Beatrice, in the very opening, says of Benedick:—"He set up his bills here in Messina, and challenged Cupid at the flight; and my uncle's fool, reading the challenge, subscribed for Cupid, and challenged him at the bird-bolt" [I, i, 39-42]. Cupid's *bird-bolt*! see the parallel phrase quoted above. Then, again, where Don Pedro is pluming himself upon his clever stratagem to lime Benedick, he exclaims:—"If we can do this, Cupid is no longer an archer: his glory shall be ours, for we are the only love-gods" [II, i, 400-402].

But, as if in contrast to this foolish assumption, Hero, who plays off the same trick upon Beatrice, takes no part of the credit to herself:—she is one of the initiated; she has herself felt the power of the bird-bolt and knows well who sent it:—"Of this matter is little Cupid's crafty arrow made, that only wounds by hearsay" [III, i, 21-3]. And again:—"Some Cupid kills with arrows, some with traps" [III, i, 106].

One more of these allusions need only be added, and that principally for the sake of explaining an expression which has been much misunderstood. In the opening [the second] Scene of the third Act, Don Pedro says of Benedick:—"He hath twice or thrice cut Cupid's bow-string, and the little hangman dare not shoot at him" [III, ii, 10-12]. Here "hangman" . . . plainly means *slaughterer*! a very appropriate epithet for Cupid. . . .

Thus the epithet, "little hangman" designating, as it does when properly explained, Love as the slaughterer of hearts, directly corroborates the general hypothesis, that "Love's Labour," in the titles of these two plays, has mythological reference to the exploits of the god.⁶⁴

It will perhaps help us in estimating the plausibility of Brae's contention if we note that the name Cupid occurs ten times in *Love's Labour's Lost*, nine times in *Much Ado*, eight times in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and not more than twice in any other one of the plays printed as comedies in the First Folio. None of the references in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* seem significant. Three of them concern Cupid's *lost* labor in trying to wound the "fair vestal throned by the west" (II, i, 157-65). In another, "Dian's bud" breaks the spell that had been wrought by "Cupid's flower" (IV, i, 78-79). The remaining passages in which the name of the love-god appears do not suggest that *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* is the much sought for *Love's Labour's Won* (I, i, 169, 235; III, ii, 103, 440).

⁶⁴ FURNESS's Variorum ed. of *Much Ado* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 369-71.

Of the ten passages in *Love's Labour's Lost* which mention the name of Cupid, three seem not to be significant (I, ii, 67; II, i, 254; IV, iii, 58). (The others follow, so far as they have not been already cited:

(*Armado*) Cupid's butt-shaft is too hard for Hercules' club; and therefore too much odds for a Spaniard's rapier" [I, ii, 181-3).

Biron. And I, forsooth, in love! I, that have been love's whip;
A very beadle to a humorous sigh;
A critic, nay, a night-watch constable;
A domineering pedant o'er the boy;
Than whom no mortal so magnificent!
This whimples, whining, purblind, wayward boy;
This senior-junior, giant-dwarf, Dan Cupid;
Regent of love-rhymes, lord of folded arms,
The anointed sovereign of sighs and groans,
Liege of all loiterers and malcontents,
Dread prince of plackets, king of codpieces,
Sole imperator and great general
Of trotting 'paritors:—O my little heart!—
And I to be a corporal of his field,
And wear his colours like a tumbler's hoop!
What, I! I love! I sue! I seek a wife!
* * * * *
And I to sigh for her! to watch for her!
To pray for her! Go to; it is a plague
That Cupid will impose for my neglect
Of his almighty dreadful little might.

—III, i, 175-191, 202-5.

Rosaline. Madam, came nothing else along with that?

Princess. Nothing but this! yes, as much love in rhyme
As would be cramm'd up in a sheet of paper,
Writ o' both sides the leaf, margent and all,
That he was fain to seal on Cupid's name.

—V, ii, 5-9.

Boyet.

Prepare, madam, prepare!

Arm, wenches, arm! encounters mounted are
Against your peace: Love doth approach disguised,
Armed in arguments; you'll be surprised:
Must your wits; stand in your own defence;
Or hide your heads like cowards, and fly hence.

Princess.

Saint Denis to Saint Cupid! What are they
That charge their breath against us? say, scout, say.

—V, ii, 81-88.

One of the mentions of Cupid in *Much Ado* is non-significant (I, i, 186); but one of those already cited has especial force if we note the entire context. This context contains, also, another mention of the love-god by name:

Don Pedro. I shall see thee, ere I die, look pale with love.

Benedick. With anger, with sickness, or with hunger, my lord, not with love: prove that

ever I lose more blood with love than I will get again with drinking, pick out mine eyes with a ballad-maker's pen and hang me up at the door of a brothel-house for the sign of blind Cupid.

Don Pedro. Well, if ever thou dost fall from this faith, thou wilt prove a notable argument.

* * * * *

Don Pedro. Nay, if Cupid have not spent all his quiver in Venice, thou wilt quake for this shortly.

Benedick. I look for an earthquake, too, then. [I, i, 249-58, 273-5.]

It seems to the writer that Brae has made out a good case for his explanation of the words *Love's Labour's Lost*. The interpretation which he gives is natural and unforced. Still, the same may be said for the usual understanding of the title.

Brae makes much of the similarity of Benedick and Beatrice in *Much Ado* to Biron and Rosaline in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

So striking is the resemblance of design and treatment in both pairs, that without any view to the present question, they have long been spoken of as *first sketch* and *finished portrait*. But by the present hypothesis, which assumes that these two plays were designed for COMPANION PICTURES, under titles differing only in denouement, the judgement is at once relieved from the necessity of regarding them as repetitions, or of supposing that the inexhaustible Shakespeare would recur to his old materials for re-working in another form.⁶⁵

The last sentence is unfortunate in view of the fact that Shakespeare was constantly repeating his characters and situations in other forms. The amount of dramatic material in *The Winter's Tale* that had been used in previous plays is really astonishing to one who examines the comedy carefully with this in mind. Did Shakespeare abandon the device of having a heroine disguise herself as a young man, after employing it once?

But there is also apparent design [says Brae] in the *contrasts*, as well as in the similitudes presented by these two plays. In one the prevailing feature is rhyme, in the other prose; in one the phraseology is obscure and euphuistic, in the other remarkably plain and colloquial.⁶⁶

"In short," in the words of Mr. Sludge, the Medium, "a hit proves much, a miss proves more." Really, these last points count heavily against Brae's hypothesis.

Parallel passages are cited "for the purpose of showing that the two plays were probably written about the same time," but these are not numerous enough to have much force.

The ingenuity and plausibility of Brae's argument caused Fleay to abandon the view of Coleridge, which, as already noted, he had supported in 1874 and 1876. In 1877, he declared that Brae had shown that *Much Ado* "is almost certainly the same as *Love's Labour's Won*." In 1886, he was less positive. In 1891, he thought *Much Ado* "probably a rewritten version of *Love's Labour's Won*."⁶⁷ The additional arguments by which Fleay attempted in 1886 to strengthen Brae's view are ingenious but not valuable. However, the fine sarcasm with which Furness refutes one of these is so delicious that it cannot be said to have lived in vain.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ FURNESS'S *Much Ado*, p. 368.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Introduction to Shakespearean Study* (London and Glasgow, 1877), pp 23, 25. *The Life and Work of William*

Shakespeare (London, 1886), pp. 204, 205. *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*, 2 Vols. (London, 1891), Vol. II, p. 182.

⁶⁸ Variorum ed. of *Much Ado*, pp. xviii, xix.

VII. "THE TAMING OF THE SHREW"

The view that is now to engage our attention was put forward by Craik in 1857. Omitting most of what he says concerning a manuscript emendation in the Collier folio, his argument runs as follows:

May not the true *Love's Labour's Won* be what we now call *The Taming of the Shrew*? That Play is founded upon an older one called *The Taming of a Shrew*; it is therefore in the highest degree improbable that it was originally produced under its present name. The designation by which it is now known, in all likelihood, was only given to it after its predecessor had been driven from the stage, and had come to be generally forgotten. Have we not that which it previously bore indicated in one of the restorations of Mr. Collier's MS. annotator, who directs us, in the last line but one of the Second Act, instead of "in this case of wooing" to read "in this case of winning" The Play is, besides, full of other repetitions of the same key-note. Thus, in the second Scene of Act I, when Hortensio informs Gremio that he had promised Petrucio, if he would become suitor to Katharine, that they "would be contributors, And bear his charge of wooing, whatsoe'er," Gremio answers, "And so we will, provided that he win her" [I, ii, 215-17]. In the fifth Scene of Act IV, when the resolute Veronese has brought the shrew to a complete submission, Hortensio's congratulation is, "Petrucio, go thy ways; the field is won" [IV, v, 23]. So in the concluding scene the lady's father exclaims, "Now, fair befall thee, good Petrucio! The wager thou hast won;" to which the latter replies, "Nay, I will win my wager better yet" [V, ii, 111, 112, 116]. And his last words in passing from the stage, as if in pointed allusion to our supposed title of the piece, are—

"'Twas I won the wager, though you [Lucentio] hit the white;
And, being a winner, God give you good night!" [V, ii, 186, 187.]

The title of *Love's Labour's Won*, it may be added, might also comprehend the underplot of Lucentio and Bianca, and even that of Hortensio and the Widow, though in the case of the latter it might rather be supposed to be the lady who should be deemed the winning party."¹⁰

Hertzberg tells us that Emil Pallese and E. W. Sievers preceded himself in Germany in identifying *Love's Labour's Won* with *The Taming of the Shrew*.¹⁰ In the case of Pallese no reference is given, and it has been impossible to find at Harvard University or the Boston Public Library the book or article concerned. The argument of Sievers will be given later. Hertzberg points out in favor of the theory before us that *The Taming of the Shrew* is not in Meres's list by its own name, although it is among the most youthful productions of Shakespeare; that Petruchio has an abundance of labor in winning the desired result; and that, though the title *Love's Labour's Won* does not apply perfectly and for all the suitors, the companion title *Love's Labour's Lost* is by no means an entirely happy description of the action of that comedy.¹¹

Boas inclines to the view of Hertzberg, both in his argument against *All's Well* and in that favoring *The Taming of the Shrew*, "while admitting that the question has not been quite conclusively settled."¹²

¹⁰GEORGE L. CRAIK, *The English of Shakespeare* (London, 1857), pp. 8, 9, note. The passage is omitted from the American edition.

¹¹*Sh.'s Dramatische Werke*, nach der Uebersetzung von Schlegel und Tieck 2te Aufl. (Berlin, 1897, [1871]), Vol. XI, Einleitung zu *Ende gut, Alles gut*, p. 355.

¹¹Einleitung zu *Ende gut, Alles gut*, as already cited, p. 355.

¹²*Shakespeare and His Predecessors* (New York, 1896), p. 345, note.

The question of the date of *The Taming of the Shrew* need not detain us long, since Shakespearean scholars are pretty well agreed that the play was in existence when Meres's list was written. It is generally accepted also that only the shrew story itself in this comedy is by Shakespeare, and that the under-plot is not his.⁷⁵

The supposed allusions in the play and to the play by means of which attempts have been made to determine the date of *The Taming of the Shrew* are entirely inconclusive.⁷⁶ Remembering the "inveterate skepticism" of Delius concerning most of the allusions used to establish the dates of plays,⁷⁷ and the exposure which Furness has recently made of their untrustworthiness in the case of *Twelfth Night*,⁷⁸ let us look for better evidence.

The fact that the comedy called *The Taming of a Shrew* was published in 1594 does not help very directly in determining the date of our play. *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* (as it will be convenient to call the two plays) are closely related. The taming story is the same in both, and there are also remarkable agreements in language, extending even to insignificant phrases. The under-plots of the two comedies are decidedly different. The usual view is that Shakespeare took not only his main plot from *A Shrew*, but also the language, where that is common to the two plays. But this view has not been proved.

The testimony of the versification would place Shakespeare's part of *The Shrew* very early in his career as a writer, König⁷⁹ finds the play to have a smaller percentage of run-on lines (*enjambements*) than any other. Moreover, in those parts of the play which are accepted as Shakespeare's, the run-on lines are less numerous than elsewhere. Of all the so-called metrical tests, this one of the frequency of run-on lines, "the stopt-line test," seems to be the most important. This importance is due both to its organic character, its close relation to the changing thought and style of the poet, and also to the large number of lines concerned in determining the percentage for each play.

The small amount of rhyme in Shakespeare's part of *The Shrew*⁸⁰ speaks against giving to the play so early a date as "the stopt-line test" would indicate; but the metrical evidence as a whole is plainly in favor of a date before 1598. The links which Furnivall points out between *The Shrew* and the other dramas, concern plays that are in Meres's list, especially *The Comedy of Errors*.⁸¹ The accepted opinion that *The Shrew* was in existence when Meres's book was written seems therefore to be well founded.

A struggle for supremacy between a wife and husband was a favorite theme in mediæval story. The Wife of Bath and the Merchant's Wife, in Chaucer, are examples

⁷⁵ Collier and White stated in general terms the view now generally accepted as to what portions of the play were written by Shakespeare. The details have been discussed by Fleay, Furnivall, and the present writer. See the writer's article, "Shakespeare's Part in 'The Taming of the Shrew,'" *Publications of the Modern Lang. Association*, Vol. V (1890), pp. 252-77.

⁷⁶ See the article just named, pp. 211-13.

⁷⁵ Preface to the Leopold Shakspeare, London.

⁷⁶ Preface to Variorum ed. of *Twelfth Night* (Philadelphia, 1901), pp. vii-xi.

⁷⁷ *Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen* (Strassburg, 1888), p. 133.

⁷⁸ *Publ. Modern Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. V, pp. 269, 270.

⁷⁹ Intro. to Leopold Shakspeare, p. xliiv.

of assertive shrews. The half-morality *Tom Tyler and His Wife*,⁸⁰ which gives an amusing account of an attempt to tame a shrew, was probably printed in 1578.⁸¹

The Taming of the Shrew is usually said to have appeared in print for the first time in the folio of 1623. It was also printed in quarto form in 1631. Some years ago Mr. Quaritch, the London bookseller, offered for sale a quarto copy of this play which did not contain the leaf bearing the date, but which he believed to have been printed before the First Folio.⁸² *The Taming of a Shrew* was printed in 1594, 1596, and 1607. Since the taming story is substantially the same in both plays, all of these impressions may be reckoned together as showing the popularity of this story. This play was the only comedy of Shakespeare to call out a dramatic retort after his death; and the existence of this companion piece, Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize, or, The Tamer Tamed*, of itself makes it certain that our play had been a favorite. In 1633 Shakespeare's comedy was performed at court on the night of November 26, and Fletcher's on November 28.⁸³ Fletcher's piece seems to have been generally called by its second name, *The Tamer Tamed*, undoubtedly, as Weber observes, in order "to approximate the title to that of Shakespeare's play."⁸⁴ *The Taming of the Shrew* was revived at the Restoration. The Dutch version of 1654 is "the earliest extant translation of any Shakespearean play."⁸⁵ In Germany this comedy has been many times refashioned. Whatever may have been the form of the play spoken of in 1658 as "Die wunderbare Heurath Petruvio, mit der bösen Catharine,"⁸⁶ an adaptation of Shakespeare's play called "Kunst über alle Künste, ein böses Weib gut zu machen," appeared in 1672, and is "the earliest impression of a German version of an entire Shakespearian piece."⁸⁷ Later adaptations are: "Christian Weise's *Die böse Katharina*, 1705; Schink's *Die bezähmte Wiederbellerin*, 1781, and Holbein's *Liebe kann Alles*, 1822; finally the now current version by Deinhardstein."⁸⁸

In Germany at the present day this comedy enjoys a surpassing popularity. From the annual statistics given in the *Jahrbücher* of the German Shakespeare Society we learn that, during the four years 1885-88, *The Taming of the Shrew* was played 297 times in the usual version, and 153 times in the Holbein adaptation, *Liebe kann Alles*, a total of 450 times. No other play of Shakespeare was so popular. *Othello* and *Hamlet* come next with 414 and 347 performances in the same period. In 1895, *Othello* was presented 114 times and *The Taming of the Shrew* 104 times, out of a total of 774 Shakespearean performances. In the same year *Liebe kann Alles* was acted "about 30 times." In 1900, out of a total of 713 performances for all the plays of Shakespeare, *Othello* was acted 96 times; *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*, each 83

⁸⁰ Reprinted by F. E. SCHELLING from the 2d ed., 1661, in the *Publications of the Modern Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. XV, pp. 253-89.

⁸¹ SCHELLING, *Intro.*, pp. 254-7.

⁸² *Bankside Shakespeare*, Vol. II (New York, 1888), p. 4.

⁸³ *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. by A. DYCE (Boston, 1854), Vol. II, p. 178.

⁸⁴ "De dolle Bruyloft" is the title. See article by J.

BOLTE, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sh.-Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 78, 79.

⁸⁵ Introduction to KÖHLER's edition of *Kunst über alle Künste*, etc. (Berlin, 1864), p. ix.

⁸⁶ COHN, *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865), p. cxxiv.

⁸⁷ HERFORD, *The Eversley Sh.*, Vol. II (London, 1899), pp. 11, 12.

times; *The Taming of the Shrew*, 78 times. No account was kept of the presentation of *Liebe kann Alles*.

In the United States *The Taming of the Shrew* has always enjoyed a good degree of public favor, but not the abounding measure bestowed upon it in Germany.

Various comedies of the age of Elizabeth and James besides those already mentioned deal with the general topic of shrewish and unmanageable wives; and a number of more modern plays have either been adapted from *The Taming of the Shrew* or suggested by it.⁸⁸

The accepted early date of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and its extraordinary and continuous popularity, force us to ask the question: How could such a play be omitted from Meres's list? The only purpose of the list was to establish the claim that Shakespeare was "most excellent in both kinds [tragedy and comedy] for the stage." How could Meres omit this play with its mastery of comic technique?—this play which goes off with such captivating vigor on the stage, which has such an abundance of broad and even farcical comedy for the crowd, and also suggestions of deeper truth for the thoughtful? "No other play of Shakespeare," says Herford, "has come home like the *The Taming of the Shrew* to the business and bosoms of average men and husbands."⁸⁹ Must we believe that this comedy was omitted by Meres?

Herford thinks that Meres's failure to include *The Shrew* is indecisive as to the date "in the case of a play so largely not Shakespeare's."⁹⁰ Von Westenholz takes the same line of explanation, when he says:

Die Zahl der Shakespeare'schen Lustspiele aber dürfte im Jahre 1598 das halbe Dutzend thatsächlich kaum erreicht, jedenfalls nicht überschritten haben, zumal wenn Meres die "Zählung der Widerspenstigen," die wir ja allerdings als ein Jugendprodukt anzusehen pflegen, wegen der allzu engen Anlehnung an die Vorlage oder aus anderen Gründen von seiner Liste ausschliessen wollte.⁹¹

It is impossible to argue against unknown "andere Gründe;" and it is hard to see why *The Shrew* should be omitted by Meres. This is especially true as against the view of von Westenholz, who claims that Meres really mentions only five comedies in a list which calls for and appears to contain the titles of six.

Are we to believe that the agreements between *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* are due to the fact that Shakespeare borrows freely from the already existing play, *A Shrew*? If so, it is just the most successful and the most intensely Shakespearean parts of *The Shrew* which are taken from the other play; and this borrowing marks not only the plot but also the language. The especial difficulty concerns the language; for it seems absurd to think of Shakespeare as following another writer in the minute and unimportant phrases that are common to the two plays.⁹² There is no difficulty really like this in all Shakespearean study. *King John* follows very closely the action and

⁸⁸ See TALCOTT WILLIAMS's "Bibliography of 'The Taming of the Shrew,'" *Shakespeareana*, Vol. V, pp. 445-56, 497-513.

⁸⁹ *Eversley Sh.*, Vol. II, p. 10.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹¹ *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, January 14, 1902, p. 79.

⁹² See *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. V, pp. 247-9.

general plan of the older play, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, but not the language. Parts II and III of *Henry VI.* freely appropriate passages from the two older plays on which they are based; but many Shakespearean scholars believe that in doing this the dramatist, on the whole, only took again what he had himself contributed to the earlier plays. But the minute verbal agreements between *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* have been generally explained by supposing that Shakespeare appropriated freely the language of another, even unimportant bits of prose. Every student of Shakespeare knows how easily he transformed the materials which he took for his own use; and it is hard to think of him as appropriating the ordinary prose phrases of another in this wholesale fashion. The true explanation must be that in some way another man borrowed the language of Shakespeare.

More than twenty years ago Professor Bernhard ten Brink expressed the opinion that *The Shrew* is the revision of a youthful work of Shakespeare, and that *A Shrew* was based directly on this youthful piece. This would make the writer of *A Shrew*, and not Shakespeare, the borrower. Ten Brink's exact words are:

The Taming of a Shrew. . . halte ich weder für ein Jugendwerk Shakespeare's noch für das Original, welches dieser benutzt hat, noch endlich für eine Bearbeitung der Shakespeare'schen Komödie, die uns in der Folio überliefert ist. Meiner Ansicht nach beruhen *Taming of a Shrew* und das beinah gleichnamige Stück der Folio auf einer gemeinsamen Quelle; diese Quelle aber war eine Jugendarbeit Shakespeares, die sich von der spätern Fassung namentlich auch dadurch unterschied, dass das aus den *Supposes* entlehnte Motiv ihrer einfachern Intrigue noch abging [was still wanting to its simpler intrigue]. Für eine Begründung dieser Hypothese ist hier kein Raum. Einstweilen möge es ihr zur Empfehlung gereichen, dass sie zwischen den älteren Ansichten vermittelt, diese gewissermassen in sich vereinigt und den Bedenken, welche gegen jede derselben geltend gemacht worden sind, nicht unterliegt.⁹³

If we assume for the moment that the hypothesis of ten Brink is true, it is natural to suggest that this youthful work of Shakespeare bore the name of *Love's Labour's Won*, that then an unauthorized adaptation of this early piece became popular under the name *The Taming of a Shrew*, and that later Shakespeare's play was revised to meet this competition and received its present title. This new name, *The Taming of THE Shrew*, involved, we may suppose, a claim to the rightful ownership of the common material.

Ten Brink's hypothesis is highly speculative, and can probably never be really proved. Yet it would explain many difficulties; and among these the following may be mentioned:

1. The agreements between the language of *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*.
2. The remarkable borrowings from Marlowe and imitations of him which abound in *A Shrew*.⁹⁴ The borrower takes freely from both the great dramatists.
3. The early date given to Shakespeare's part of *The Shrew* by the stopt-line test.
4. The remarkable excellence of *A Shrew*, its author being called by Swinburne "of all the pre-Shakespeareans incomparably the truest, the richest, the most powerful and original humourist."⁹⁵

⁹³ "Ueber den Sommernachtstraum," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Sh.-Gesellschaft*, Vol. XIII, p. 94.

⁹⁵ Cited by BULLEN, *The Works of Marlowe* (Boston, 1885), Vol. I, p. lxxvi.

⁹⁴ *Publications of Modern Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. V, pp. 239-47.

5. The view of Pope, Capell, and Frey, the Bankside editor, that Shakespeare wrote *A Shrew*.

6. The use made of *The Supposes*, a play translated by Gascoigne from the Italian of Ariosto, and played in 1566. As the present writer has shown elsewhere,⁹⁸ the underplot of *The Shrew* is decidedly superior to that of *A Shrew*, and appropriates much more material from *The Supposes*. It seems very unlikely that Shakespeare's play in its present form was before the writer of *A Shrew*. Ten Brink and Herford⁹⁷ seem to be in error in thinking that *A Shrew* takes nothing from *The Supposes*.

The excellence of the Cade scenes in *II Henry VI.* makes it probable that Shakespeare wrote admirable comedy of a vigorous type very early in his career.

Without trying to insist upon all of the points in the hypothesis of ten Brink, we may suppose that *Love's Labour's Won* became at a later day *The Taming of the Shrew*, whether or not a change in the form of the play accompanied this change of name. The new title may well express the claim of the comedy to be the authoritative version of the shrew story. This theory concerning *Love's Labour's Won* offers, therefore, a definite reason for the giving up of that title. The strange similarity in the titles of *The Taming of A Shrew* and *The Taming of THE Shrew* receives thus a natural explanation, and becomes significant.

Herford objects to the suggestion that *The Taming of the Shrew* can be connected with the title *Love's Labour's Won* because in this comedy "it is marital authority that labours and wins, not love."⁹⁹ But surely there is no reason to believe that Petruchio carries through his taming without any real affection for his Kate. The action begins unfortunately with a mercenary and emphatic choice of Katharine by Petruchio before he has seen her; at this point *A Shrew* is the better play. Still, we are undoubtedly intended to see that Kate needs to be tamed for her own permanent happiness; and it is only fair and natural to believe that below the pretense of Petruchio "That all is done in reverend care of her" (IV, i, 217) lies the deeper fact that a real affection is winning a wise victory. It makes the play needlessly offensive not to admit that it is love's labour that is at last won.

We have already noted those passages in *The Shrew* which seem to Craik to refer distinctly to its supposed earlier title. The expressions concerned, while not at all conclusive, certainly fit well with his interpretation.

It must be frankly admitted that the correspondences and agreements in dramatic details which we fairly expect to find between two plays with such parallel titles do not exist between *Love's Labour's Lost* and our proposed *Love's Labour's Won*, *The Shrew*. The claims of *Much Ado about Nothing* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* are much better supported at this point. However, the tone of the two plays is distinctly similar. There is in each about the same mixture of jest and earnest. Also, the fundamental thought, the theme, in each play may be said to be a humorous presentation of what is normal and what abnormal in the relations between the sexes, considered apart from

⁹⁸ *Publications of Modern Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. V, pp. 215-27.

⁹⁹ Intro. to *Al's Well*, *Eversley Sh.*, Vol. III, p. 114.

⁹⁷ *Eversley Sh.*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 7.

any question of vice. From this point of view these two plays may be said to be a group by themselves among the dramas of Shakespeare.

If we subdivide the fourteen plays that are printed in the First Folio as comedies, perhaps a classification that is as significant as any is that which separates them into what may be called tragi-comedies, romantic comedies, and pure comedies. *The Merchant of Venice* and *Measure for Measure* fall together as tragi-comedies, plays in which the action, after threatening for a time to end fatally, reaches a happy conclusion. After these come the romantic comedies, those which have a principal action that is in the main dignified and earnest, while the humorous element is especially prominent in connection with subordinate characters, or even in a separate subordinate action. This is Shakespeare's favorite type of comedy, and at least eight of our fourteen plays belong most naturally in this class. If we apply the term pure comedies to plays in which the central action is filled with humor, the four remaining plays will fall here. These are: *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *The Comedy of Errors*. It may be best to make a fourth class for *The Comedy of Errors*, and call it a farce. This would be both because the play puts impossibilities in the very foreground in order to excite laughter, and because its comedy of misunderstandings is almost entirely independent of the characters of those concerned, and often becomes the mere boisterous fun of unexpected beating or scolding. If we thus set this play by itself, three dramas remain in our class of pure comedies. One of these, *The Merry Wives*, is generally believed not to have been in existence at the time when Meres wrote, though some think otherwise. The story that this play was written at the command of Queen Elizabeth is given both by Dennis and Rowe at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It may well go back to contemporary authority, and has been widely accepted. Rowe says: "She [Elizabeth] was so well pleas'd with that admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded him [Shakespeare] to continue it for one play more, and to shew him in love. This is said to be the occasion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windsor."⁹⁹ If we do not question this account, then we have in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Taming of the Shrew* the only pure comedies which Shakespeare wrote of his own accord, and probably the only ones that were in existence when Meres's list was penned.

A very recent treatise in English upon the theory of the drama is that by Miss Woodbridge. She makes much of the division of comedy into judicial, or satiric comedy, on the one hand, and non-judicial, or sympathetic comedy, on the other.¹⁰⁰ This distinction applies properly only to the comic elements in the plays. Jonson, as a comedian, is judicial, satiric, reformatory; Shakespeare is prevailingly non-judicial, sympathetic, genial. What fools *we* mortals be! This thought may be taken as the motto for Shakespeare's work as a humorous dramatist. Among the fourteen "come-

⁹⁹ Cited in HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, *Outlines*, etc., 10th ed. (London, 1898), Vol. II, p. 74.

¹⁰⁰ *The Drama, Its Law, and Its Technique* (Boston, 1898), pp. 62-6, 162-74.

dies" of the First Folio, the following may be said to show in their humorous portions some approach to the judicial, satiric spirit: *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merry Wives*, *All's Well* (the story of Parolles), *Twelfth Night* (the story of Malvolio), and *The Tempest* (the conspiracy of Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo). Of these six plays, the first two were almost certainly in existence when Meres wrote, and probably only the first two. Here once more we find *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Shrew* associated.

The above argument had been completed in the form given, before the writer was able to get access to the work of E. W. Sievers, in which, in 1866, he advocated the identification of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Won*. His words supplement and enforce in a most effective way what has already been said:

Wir kommen zu zwei Komödien des Dichters, die einer wesentlich andern Richtung seines Geisteslebens entsprungen sind, "Verlorne Liebesmüth" und "Die gezähmte Widerspenstige." In diesen beiden Stücken nähert sich die Shakspeare'sche Komödie dem, was man gewöhnlich unter Lustspiel versteht, und in der That sind es hier nun einzelne Verkehrtheiten und Schwächen der Menschen, die der Dichter geisselt. Der Mensch, wie er hier vor uns tritt, erscheint nicht mehr als das Product der mit Notwendigkeit wirkenden Factoren seiner Natur, sondern als ein freies Wesen, der Dichter sucht ihn in der Sphäre seiner Freiheit auf, und deren erste und allgemeinste Grenzen zu ziehen, ihm den Weg zu ihr zu zeigen, ist das Interesse, das ihn erfüllt. Er [der Dichter] erscheint daher in diesen Stücken in der Eigenschaft des Pädagogen, des Lehrers und Mahners der Menschheit, und so voll des genialsten Uebermuthes sie sind, der tiefe sittliche Ernst steht doch immer im Hintergrunde, ja er verdrängt sogar in beiden Stücken zuletzt die harmlos heitre Stimmung und hebt auch sie damit wieder über das Niveau des gewöhnlichen Lustspiels hinaus. Wir haben übrigens hier nur ihren allgemeinen Charakter bezeichnen wollen, nicht den ästhetischen Werth, den sie in Anspruch nehmen dürfen. In letztrer Beziehung steht "Die gezähmte Widerspenstige" tief unter allen andern Werken des Dichters und kann namentlich dem heutigen Menschen nur noch durch die fast verschwenderische Entfaltung des zwar derben, darum aber nicht minder glänzenden Witzes interessieren.

Was die Zeit ihrer Entstehung angeht, so schliessen sich beide Stücke aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach sehr eng an die beiden Veroneser und die Komödie der Irrungen an; sowohl Sprache und Versbau wie der ganze Charakter der Stücke führen darauf hin, dass sie bereits vor dem Jahre 1594, also vor dem Sommernachtstraum entstanden sind, der sie namentlich an technischer Vollendung der Composition weit überragt. . . .

So sehr nun auch die Fabel [von "Ende gut, Alles gut"] die Bezeichnung der gewonnenen Liebesmüth rechtfertigen möchte, so ist dennoch die Farmer'sche Vermuthung völlig unhaltbar. Das Werk des Meres erschien im Jahre 1598 und alle sowohl äussere wie innere Merkmale, Sprache und Versbau nicht weniger wie der in "Ende gut, Alles gut" hervortretende gedrängte und gedankenvolle Tiefsinn, dazu die künstlerische Tendenz des Stückes, die mit der verlorenen Liebesmüth nicht das Mindeste gemein hat, alles führt darauf hin, wie die Vertreter dieser Ansicht selbst offen bekennen, dass dieses Stück in einer spätern Zeit entstanden sein muss und folglich unter jener Bezeichnung nicht kann gemeint gewesen sein. Was also liegt näher, als auf "Die gezähmte Widerspenstige" zu schliessen, zumal da Meres gerade dieses Stück in seiner Aufzählung der Shakspeare'schen Dramen unerwähnt lässt? Dass es wie schon bemerkt, ziemlich gleichzeitig mit "Verlorne Liebesmüth" entstanden ist, gibt dieser Annahme noch eine neue Stütze.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ E. W. SIEVERS, *William Shakspeare, Sein Leben und Dichten* (Gotha, 1866), Vol. I, pp. 329-31.

The writer is under obligation to Miss H. R. Keller,

recently of the Boston Public Library, for a copy of the passages from Sievers.

CONCLUSION

If we recur to the various criteria suggested in our introduction for testing the claim of any particular comedy of Shakespeare to be accepted as *Love's Labour's Won* under another name, it is clear that no one of the plays proposed satisfies them all in any convincing fashion. No one who has followed the foregoing discussion will wonder, therefore, that some scholars consider this problem to be insoluble. As we have already seen, Dowden, in 1895, expressed himself in a very hesitating manner, saying that "Love's Labour's Won . . . may be a lost play of Shakespeare, or possibly, as has been conjectured, All's Well that Ends Well in an earlier form may have borne this title."¹⁰² Wendell puts the plain truth in a plain way when he says: "The question can never be definitely settled."¹⁰³ Unless some new evidence shall be discovered, this statement is just.

In trying to estimate briefly the comparative claims of the various views that have now been presented, it is extremely difficult to measure the force which should be given to the agreement between the order of the comedies as named by Meres and that in the First Folio. This coincidence was pointed out at the close of the discussion of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.¹⁰⁴ If we look upon the coincidence in question as having great significance, then we shall be almost compelled to accept one of the first three views that have been presented; and among these the first one, which holds that *Love's Labour's Won* has disappeared, seems to be decidedly the most probable.

The present writer, however, is constitutionally indisposed to judge Shakespearean questions on the evidence of cryptograms and mystic coincidences. In the few words which remain, therefore, this strange agreement will be disregarded.

Of the four views which hold that the play has come down to us under another name, the favorite theory, that which connects *Love's Labour's Won* with *All's Well*, seems to the present writer to be decidedly improbable. In spite of the considerations in favor of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, which von Westenholz has ably presented, the fundamental difficulty of supposing that Meres names only five comedies in his list, makes that view inadmissible. On the whole, if we are to find *Love's Labour's Won* among the plays that we now possess, the choice appears to lie between *Much Ado about Nothing* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. The considerations in favor of *The Taming of the Shrew* are strong, and the attempt has here been made to present them with some fulness.

¹⁰² *Introduction to Sh.* (London and New York, n. d.), p. 30.

¹⁰³ *William Shakspeare* (New York, 1894), p. 246.

¹⁰⁴ See in this article p. 13.

**TWO OLD SPANISH VERSIONS OF THE DISTICHA
CATONIS**

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON TWO OLD SPANISH VERSIONS OF THE DISTICHA CATONIS

KARL PIETSON

THIS study grew out of a suggestion made to me in 1897 by Professor Gottfried Baist, in connection with the version mentioned on p. 19 below. I wish to record here my gratitude to him, not only for this kindness, but also for the many instances in which he has given me assistance and direction in my work in the libraries of Spain.

In contrast with the many French and Italian translations (paraphrases) of the *Disticha Catonis* enumerated by Beets,¹ *De "Disticha Catonis" in het Middelnederlandsch*, 1885, pp. 96 and 103, the fact that Spain is represented by only one (p. 103) is surprising. Were the *Disticha* less popular in Spain where, during the Middle Ages, according to Knust, *Mittheilungen*, p. 518, "besonders, und mehr als vielleicht in irgend einem andern lande . . . die didaktische richtung . . . zur geltung [kam]"? I have, I admit, only meager evidence with which to refute such an idea. The reason, however, lies partly in the fact that such literary means as a *Catálogo general de manuscritos*, etc., are yet to be published, partly in the fact that works like Haenel, the *Archiv d. Ges. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Loewe-Hartel, etc., were not accessible to me here.

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

Latin manuscripts of the *Disticha Catonis* have been extant in the following libraries:

Oviedo, Biblioteca de la Santa Iglesia Catedral-Basilica. Cf. *Inventarium librorum adnotatum Deo annuente sub era DCCCCXX* [i. e., 882]: (34) Catonis lib. IIII. (Beer, *Handschriftenschatze*, p. 378.)

Burgos, Biblioteca particular de D. Alvar Garcia de Santa María. Cf. *Inventario de los bienes* of this statesman and scholar († 1460): (17) Otro librete que es caton glosado en latin de papel cobierto prieto. (Beer, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.)

Medina de Pomar, Biblioteca fundada por el Conde de Haro en 1455. Cf. *Catálogo . . . de los libros . . . que se hallaron á veinte y siete de Mayo del año de 1553 en la librería que . . . D. Pedro Fernández de Velasco, Conde de Haro, Señor de la Casa de Salas, Camarero mayor del Rey don Juan el II, fundó á los 14 de Agosto de 1455 años . . .*: Otro libro viejo, sin principio ni fin, de Catón y sus dichos. (Paz y Mélia, *Revista de Archivos*, Vol. IV, p. 666.) Whether the latter entry refers to a Latin or Spanish manuscript is, of course, doubtful.

¹ His bibliography (pp. 89-105), though still useful, was already fairly defective at the date of its publication. For earlier French translations, see GRÖNER in his *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 1, pp. 482, 563, and 1006. A Lorraine translation has been published by ULRICH ("Eine altlothringische Uebersetzung des Dionysius Cato"), *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 85-92. Provençal translations have been made known by MEYER ("Fragments d'une paraphrase provençale

du Pseudo-Caton"), *Romania*, Vol. XXV, pp. 98-110, 340, and E. TOLLER (*Die altprovenzalische Version der Disticha Catonis*), 1897. Of Catalan translations MOREL-FATIO speaks in GRÖNER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 108. An Engadine translation was edited by ULRICH ("Distichorum Catonis rhitmi"), *Romania*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 213-22. For a translation of "die sehn Lehren des Cato" into Roumanian, see GASTER in GRÖNER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 3, p. 313.

As still extant, I quote from Ewald, *Neues Archiv d. Ges. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Vol. VI, p. 317:

Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 14. 22. Fol. 75: Marci Catonis ad filium salutem. Cum animadverterem, etc.

Further, from excerpts I made from the written catalogue of the manuscripts of the Escorial in the possession of the Biblioteca Particular de S. M.:

Escorial, K, III, 24, *Disticha Catonis*. S. XIII.

Ibid., J, III, 28, *Cato, Disticha*. S. XIII.

Ibid., S, III, 13, *Cato, Disticha*. S. XV.

According to the same catalogue the Escorial Library contains also:

Philippus de Pergamo, *Speculum regiminis quoad utrumque hominem, sive moralis expositio libri Catonis de moribus, scripta anno 1400*. S. XIV. g, II, 6.

Calderia,³ *Expositio Catonis pro filia erudienda*. S. XVI. N, II, 17.

The question must be left undecided whether in the case of the one or the other of the above-mentioned manuscripts, about which more detailed information is wanting, we are dealing with the original *Disticha* or with the *Disticha* as commented by Robertus de Euremodio or Philippus de Bergamo, or with the *Disticha* in one of the metrical Latin versions to which Zarneke has given the names of *Cato novus*,⁴ *Cato rhythmicus*,⁵ *Cato interpolatus*,⁶ and *Cato leoninus*.⁷ The latter series is to be increased by one more, *Catoniana confection*. A note about it in Antonio, *Bibl. vetus*, Vol. II (1788), p. 293, reads as follows: "Item [refero] Anonymum Hispanum memoratu dignissimum, cuius in Regiæ Bibliothecæ Matritensis membranaceo forma folii codice exstat: *Epistola directa ad inclytum et magnificum Virum Dominum Petrum Fernandi de Velasco Comitem de Haro et Dominum antiquæ Domus de Salas Serenissimi atque invictissimi Domini nostri Regis* (Joannis secundi, ut existimo) *Archicamerarium*. Constat autem Epistola capitibus XII. impletque folia non minus XXIV. estque salubribus monitis plena. Auctor videtur Comiti de Haro valde familiaris fuisse eiusque in præliis commilito ac contubernalis, atque operi cui Epistola præfigitur *Catonianæ Confectionis* titulum indere voluisse; sic enim in capite XII. quod eius postremum est ait: *Et sicut alterius Catonis*¹ *Iurisconsulti cuidam legali doctrinæ Legistæ CATONIANÆ REGULÆ nomen dederunt: sic et Claritas tua huius antiquioris et moralis Catonis salubrium monitorum copilationem dulcium rhythmorum congerie refertam CATONIANAM CONFECTIONEM si libet potest vocare: ut librarius tuus quando illam petere volueris facilius in silva librorum tuorum nominis adiectione valeat reperire. Nolo tamen ut putes me hanc confectionem composuisse; cum ingenium meum longe inferius sit; neque in ea aliqua mutasse vel addidisse; sed prout in*

²The name is neither in ANTONIO nor GALLARDO nor SALVÁ. It may, however, be worth while to refer to the following entry in ANTONIO, *Bibl. nova*, Vol. I (1783), p. 865: "Ioannes Caldeira, nescio quis aut unde homo, elucubavit:

In Catonis disticha commentaria: quæ in membranis fuerunt in bibliotheca Olivariensi."

³*Ber. d. Kgl. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Leipzig*, Vol. XV, p. 24.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 54.

⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 181.

⁷Perhaps "Sacchi (Caton), jurisconsulte à Bologne 1447, † à Pavie 1467" (CHEVALIER)?

Bibliotheca mea ruptam ac fere consumptam repereram transcriptione in lucem trahi, et insigni nobilitati tuæ destinare decrevi: quam quidem ne nude transmitterem quasi in quadam præfatiuncula hæc tibi dicere volui. Tu vero qui ingenio ac prudentia non mediocriter polles, quid in huiusmodi rebus amplius dicendum sit Divini auxilii invocato favore animadvertite, etc. Sequitur in codice Catoniana confectio CCCVI. non minus ogdoadibus rhythmicis constans, quarum omnium quartus, et octavus sive postremus versus metrici item sunt, ex iis quæ Catonis disticha passim appellantur desumptus. En operis specimen.

OGDOAS I^A

In primis charissime te volo docere.
Primum super omnia regnum Dei quære.
Illi soli servias, illi semper hære
Si Deus est animus ut dicunt carmina vere.
Hic tibi præ ceteris sit semper timendus,
Tota mente viribus totis diligendus:
Hic per cuncta sæcula sit benedicendus,
Hic tibi præcipue sit pura mente colendus.

II^A

Inter saluberrimos monitus quos præsto,
Hunc tibi non modicum, fili, manifesto,
Uti somno studeas scilicet modesto
Plus vigila semper nec somno deditus esto.
Sicut enim simile registrum registrat,
Et sinister proximus proximum sinistrat,
Et magister vitii vitia magistrat:
Sic diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat.

Et sic deinceps ad finem usque operis, quod binis libris discretum est."

EARLY LATIN PRINTS

With regard to early Latin prints (previous to 1500) we have the statement of Rios, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 239: "Los dísticos (que sólo conservaban el nombre de Caton) se imprimieron desde mediados del siglo XV, repitiéndose las ediciones en 1475, 1498, . . . habiendo gozado antes y despues singular aplauso de los doctos."³ Neither Hain nor Copinger nor Brunet, however, notes any Spanish incunabulum of the *Disticha* of those dates.

More valuable is the account given by Gallardo of at least two incunabula:

Zaragoza, 1493. Cf. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, Vol. III, c. 28 (see, below, the paragraph on translations).

Pamplona, 1499. Cf. *Registrum librorum don Ferdinandi Colon* in Gallardo, Vol. II, c. 543, no. 4002: "Opuscula quædam metrica et primo Cato de moribus. In principio est Andreæ Guterii epistola . . . Prologus Catonis: I. "Cum animadverterem." Opus: I. "Si Deus et (sic)

³Rios goes on to say: "En los capítulos, acordados para el régimen de los estudios de la Universidad de Valencia [1412] se leía, hablando de los gramaticales: "Item, post construat [magister] illis [scholaribus] aliquem librum

poetalem ut Catonem," etc. Y el docto Luis Vives recomendaba su lectura en el siglo XVI, diciendo, al tratar de los autores que debían consultarse: "Simul cum his discas Catonis disticha" (Epist. De ratione studiorum)."

animus." D. "Conjungere binos." It., Libellus de contemptu mundi: I. "Chastula (sic) nostra tibi."⁹ D. "Gaudia fine carebunt." Item sequitur liber dictus Floretus Sequitur liber quinque clavium sapientie Item, sequuntur Esopi fabulae in versu Sequitur liber hymnorum Item Job lectiones novem Item Symbolum Apostolorum, oratio dominica, Salutatio angelica, Salve regina, oratio ad trinitatem et alia ad beatum Andrean Impr. Pampilone anno 1499 die V Januarii. Est in 4^o"

A kind communication from Professor K. Haebler enables me to add to these the print

Toledo, 1499. Cf. Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Toledo*, 1887, p. 15: "(Libros menores.) (*Al fin.*) Fue imprentada la presente obra por Maestre Pedro Hagembach alleman, en la muy noble cibdad de Toledo en el año de 1499 a 17 dias del mes de agosto.

4^o, l. g. NB. Al ejemplar (de los col. mayores de Salamanca) que tengo á la vista, le faltan al principio 8 hojas cuando menos de la signatura a, en que se contendrían los principios, y los dísticos de Catón que acaban en la sign. b₂. Síguese el libro de *Contemptu mundi* en versos leoninos, atribuido á San Bernardo.

¶ "Sequitur *Liber Floreti*."

¶ Claves sapientie

¶ Fedro

¶ Himnos

y hasta el fin del libro varias oraciones de breviario

Gall. Nota Ms."

Here belong also the following prints:

s. l. e. a. (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac.) Cf. Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica*, no. 138¹⁰: "Cato, De contemptu mundi.—sin indicaciones tipográficas, pero en Sevilla, por Men. Ungut y Stanislaw polono, ca. 1495. 4^o"

s. l. e. a. (Madrid, Bibl. Nac.) Cf. Haebler, *loc. cit.*, no. 139: "Cato cum contemptu mundi.—sin indicaciones tipográficas, pero en Salamanca, segundo grupo romano, ca. 1500. 4^o"

Only hesitatingly I put here also a print

s. l. e. a. (Escorial and Madrid, Bibl. R. Ac. Esp.) Cf. below, the paragraph on translations.

ALLUSIONS

My belief in the popularity of the *Disticha* in Spain receives better support from the numerous allusions to them or their supposed author in early Spanish literature (previous to 1500). The number of these allusions may easily be increased by systematic reading. An exhaustive list would also have to include such cases as *Historia del Cavallero Cifar*, p. 12, where the precept "Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis" (*Dist.* III, 6¹¹), is rendered "Entre los cuydados a las vegas tome

⁹ "Chartula nostra tibi portat, Rainalde, salutes" is the beginning of the *Carmen paræneticum ad Rainaldum* (Migne, Vol. CLXXXIV, c. 1307), attributed to St. Bernard, but the end reads: "Hoc tibi det munus qui regnat Trinus et Unus." Perhaps the work in question is identical with a "*De contemptu mundi*," also attributed to St. Bernard, for which GRÖBER in his *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 1, p. 377, refers to HAUBEREAU, *Poèmes attribués à S. Bernard*, p. 11.

¹⁰ I quote from the proof-sheets for which I am under obligations to the author.

¹¹ In his "Iter Ibericum," *Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. XVI, where H. gave the first notice about this (p. 17) and the preceding print (p. 108), he says "B. U. Evora."

¹² My references to the Latin text are to HAUTHAL's edition, whose larger and more conveniently arranged *Varia Lectio* seems to me, for the study of a mediæval translation, to have the preference over the editions of either BÄHRERUS or NÉMETHY.

(l. toma) algunos plaseres" and attributed to a "sabio" and not to Cato. There should be taken into account also Spanish translations from the Latin, e. g., Pedro de Luna, *Libro de las Consolaciones de la Vida humana* (Gayangos), pp. 588a and 598a.

Among the allusions which I have met with are:

XIII. CENTURY

Berceo, *Alexandre* (Janer) 2218:

Se Adam non ouiesse comido tal tragon;
Non ouiera Messias tomada tal passion:
E se Loth¹³ non beuisse como mandó Caton,
Non farien (l. farie¹⁴ en) sus fijos (l. fijas) fijos tan sen razon.
(Prol. 22¹⁵.)

Alfonso el Sabio, *Las siete Partidas*, Vol. II (1807), p. 40: dixo Caton el sabio, que todo home debe á las vegadas volver entre sus cuidados alegria et placer. (III, 6.)

P. 43: dixo Caton el sabio en castigando á su fijo: si quieres aprender bien, habe¹⁶ vida con los buenos. (Prol. 6.)

Sancho el Bravo, *Castigos é Documentos* (Gayangos), p. 152 b: ca dijo el sábio á que dijeron el gran Caton, que todos los homes que consejan á otros en las cosas dubdosas, deben ser quitos destas quatro cosas que te agora diré. La primera, de ira. La segunda, de grand amistanza. La tercera, de mal querencia. La quarta, de miedo.

P. 165 b: ca dice Caton el sábio: "Non vayas al consejo ajeno, al menos de ser y llamado." (Prol. 7, cf. Var. Lect.)

Pero Gomez Barroso, *Libro de los Conseios et Conseiros* (Rios, *Historia*, Vol. IV, p. 95): Otroey dise el ssabio Caton que deue acomendar ome el su conseio de poridat al amigo callado. (II, 22.)

Doze Sabios. Cf. Baist in Gröber's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 412, according to whom Cato is one of the sources of the work.

Pedro Pasqual de Valencia, *Sobre el Credo* (Ms. III, P, 21 of the Escorial), f° 1, r°: Amigos, yo el que este libro fiz oy leyer vna vez vn libro de castigos que se clama Caton que castigaua a ssu fijo et dizia li esta razon:

Fijo, mientras biuieres, non quedes de aprender;
Que por su mal nacio todo aqueill que necio quiere ser. (IV, 27.)

Et dize eill:

Mas, fijo, ley muchos libros et ditados;
Mas de quantos leyerer non fagas sus mandados.
Car mucho dizen los sauicos et ponen en sus dictados
Que non deuen ser creydos nin deuen ser obrados. (III, 18.)

¹³ MOREL-FATIO, *Romania*, Vol. IV, p. 79, proposes to read *Noc*. I have no means of finding out whether such a change is suggested by the *Alexandreis*. If not, *Genesis* 19:33 seems to me to fit better than *Genesis* 9:21. I would propose: E se beuisse Loth.

¹⁴ See Appendix I.

¹⁵ One might think also of II, 21 or IV, 24. My efforts to verify the allusions have not in every case been satisfactory. The author of the allusion, quoting from memory, is apt to change more or less a *Sententia* or a *Distichon*, to combine here and there, to attribute to Cato what he has read elsewhere, etc.

¹⁶ One more instance of the imperat. sing. in GASSNER, *Das altspan. Verbum*, §200. Add *Corvacho* (1901), p. 115: Por ende ave por dicho que p. 276, p. 310: ave merced de mí agora; PERO GUILLEN DE SEGOVIA (*Canc. Gen.*, Vol. I (1882), p. 46): aue tá merced de mí, p. 51: Señor, aue piedad . . . de mí; ENCINA, *Teatro* (1893), p. 193: Zambardo, Zambardo, Despierta, despierta, y habe mancilla. The imperat. plur. is more frequent. The statement of MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. II, §242: "Der Imperativ span. habe . . . ist wohl von den Grammatikern erfunden" is, therefore, not justified.

F^o 35, v^o: dize Caton :

Fijo, ley muchos libros et muchos dictados ;
Mas de quocientos leyerer non faras sus mandados.
Car mucho dizen los sauos et ponen en sus dictados
Que non deuen ser creydos nin deuen ser obrados.¹⁷

XIV. CENTURY

Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen Amor* (Ducamin), p. 4: Ca dize Caton: Nemo sine crimine viuit. (I, 5.)

Copla 44 :

Palabras son de sabio e dixolo Caton,
Que ombre a sus coydados que tiene en coraçon
Entreponga plazerer e alegre la rrazon,
Que la mucha tristeza mucho coydado pon. (III, 6.)

Copla 568 :

Como tyene tu estomago en sy mucha vyanda,
Tenga la porydat que es mucho mas blanda ;
Caton, sabyo Romano, en su lybro lo manda,
Diz que la (buena) poridat en buen amigo anda.

XV. CENTURY

Enrique de Villena. Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *D. Enrique de Villena*, p. 70, where, among the authorities laid under contribution by Villena for his *Consolatoria ó Tratado de la Consolación*, Catón and Roberto Hermodio are mentioned. The latter has been identified already by Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 131, with "Robert d'Envermeuil (Evremodio), cistercien du XV^e siècle, connu par un commentaire sur les *Distiques* de Caton."

Fray Miguel (*Canc. Baena*, p. 45):

Tulio, Vegeçio, Virgilio é Caton,
Poetas perfetos . . .

Villasandino (*Canc. Baena*, p. 78):

Ca en sus Proverbios el sabio Caton
Dis quel bien suba, el mal que desçenda.

Alfonso Sanchez (*Canc. Baena*, p. 127): los consejos del sabio Caton.

Villasandino (*Canc. Baena*, p. 260):

Dante, Vergylio, é Caton¹⁸
En poetrya fundaron.

Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera (Corvacho ó Reprobación del Amor mundano)*, 1901, p. 141: como dice Caton: dulçemente canta la caña, quando el caçador, dulçemente cantando, con tal engaño toma el aue. (I, 27.)

P. 213: Dice Caton que la primera virtud creese refrenar la lengua. (I, 3.)

P. 243: segund dize Caton, aquél es digno de ser llamado Rey, que regir sabe sus reynos.

P. 244: el sabyo Caton dezia: dexa, dexa los secretos de Dios; no quieras saber ni perscrutar quáles son nin por qué o si son. (II, 2.)

¹⁷ The lines are written in the manuscript like prose.

¹⁸ The author of a note to this passage (p. 672) is inclined to see in Caton *Valerius Cato*.

P. 279: como dize Caton, que asy a los duques como a los principes la muerte comun es avida.¹⁹

P. 303: segund dize el sabyo Caton, non vale nada la braueza de muestra, que muchas vezes vimos el vencido sobrar al vencedor. (II, 10.)

P. 311: Pues byen lo dió por exemplo el sabyo Caton donde dixo: la primera virtud quel ome o muger deue aver, pienso que es, de mal fablar e mucho fablar, refrenar su lengua. (I, 3.)

P. 320: Dize Caton: como tú, ombre, seas poco sabyo e las cosas por razon non gobiernes, non quieras dezir fortuna, pues que non ay fortuna ser de byen o mal causadora. (IV, 3.)

P. 322: guarda que te dize el sabyo Caton: dexa los secretos de Dios a solo Dios e non quieras escodriñar qué son ni cuáles son, nin porqué son. (II, 2.)

Santillana, p. 112 (speaking of "Doña Maria, reyna de Castilla, muger del rey Don Johan"):

Esta, como fija, subcede á Caton,
Sçiente el secreto de sus anphorismos.

P. 113 (speaking of the seven "donçellas" that surround Maria, i. e., of the three theological virtues and four cardinal virtues — a reminiscence of Dante, *Purg.*, XXIX, 121, etc.):

Las tres son aquellas que façen logar
En el parayso al ánima dina,
É las quatro aquellas, á quien la dottrina
De Cato nos manda por siempre observar.

Pero Diaz de Toledo (Knust's ed. of Burlaei *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*, p. 42): Dize Caton en su philosophia moral, que la primera e principal virtud que todo onbre deve tener es que tenga refrenada e moderada su lengua, que cercano es a Dios aquel que sabe callar, quando la razon lo demanda. (I, 3.)

¹⁹ I. *ser* as auxiliary of *haber*:

1) *haber* = *to have*:

Rim. Pal. 1266: Que cosa es el omne si es puesto en oluido De aquel Sennor muy alto e non es defendido? El qual defendimiento si sienpre es auido, Por menos neçesario de nos será tenido. 1435: La culpa que ha fin non deue ser punida Con culpa (l. pena) que sin fin por sienpre es auida.

2) *haber* = *to hold, to consider*:

Corvacho, p. 279 (1). FRAY DIEGO DE VALENCIA (*Canc. Baena*, p. 541): Los maridos muy queridos De las sus lindas mugeres, Son avidos aborridos Desde que tú, Muerte, los fieres. *Corvacho*, p. 272: (otro bygarde) era avido por santo. SANTILLANA (*Rios*), p. 64: serás avido Por discreto; p. 70: por monarcha universal fué avido; p. 76: Judit . . . auida fué . . . por muger de muy singularissimo ingenio; p. 174: Por muchos es uno avido; p. 78: La qual (Vagnes) asy fué principalmente auida entre las argianas que . . . *Corvacho*, p. 26: la muger . . . es de las otras en poca reputacion auida.

3) In the following instances the phenomenon seems to be the same as the one discussed by MUSSAFLA, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, Vol. V, p. 247; SUCHIER, *Denkm. prov. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 518; MEYER-LÜCKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. II, § 344; GAUCHAT in *Scritti vari di filol. ded. a E. Monaci*, p. 61 (not accessible to me):

Fuero Juzgo (1815), p. 11: Quantas pestilencias son avidas (cf. Var. Lect.) en la tierra de los godos, . . . desto lo puede omne mas entender, porque . . . ; *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, p. 96: nunca disension fué entre ellos auida (numquam fuit aliqua disensio inter eos).

II. *ser* as auxiliary of *ser*:

San Juan de la Peña, p. 78: el que todos tiempos era seydo vencedor (fuit); p. 82: no yera seydo usado en armas (cum non esset exercitatus in armis); p. 83: ya en Borja con los nanarros yera seido faulado de la cosa (in Curijs Borgie . . . condixerant cum nauarris); p. 85: enbió vn mensagero . . . al su maestro, clamado Fforçado que era seydo (fuerat); p. 147: los que eran seidos contrarios (fuerant); p. 223: á los sus naturales que yeran seydos en la batalla (fuerant).

III. *ser* as auxiliary of *estar*:

San Juan de la Peña, p. 30: por los montes qui por él, et del comte Daragon les eran estado[s] dados (pro termino seu nemoribus eis collatis per ipsum Regem et Comitum Aragonum); p. 101: eran estados fieles et leals (fuerant); p. 145: era estado dado por nodrir (fuerat traditus alendus); p. 172: recontaron en qual manera hauiá estado vencido el rey de Sicilia Conrardi, et en que manera era estado escabegado en Palermo por el rey Carlos cruelment (narrauerunt . . . quomodo Corradinus rex Sicilie a rege Carolo victus, et captus fuerat, et in Salerno decollatus inhumane); p. 227: Et estando la dita ciudat Dalmaria sitiada por el poder del dito Rey, la qual muytas vegadas era estado fuerment combatida . . . (Existente dicta ciuitate Almarie obsessa per Regem Aragonum, et pluries acriter expugnata, . . .). The latter construction is likewise very frequent in the *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*, cf. pp. 7, 11, 13 (eran estado[s] muertos), 20, 24, 47, 60, 103, 113, 116.

Juan del Encina (Gallardo, Vol. II, c. 866). Among the articles which the "bachiller Babilonia" is going to sell by auction, are:

Primeramente un Tobías
E un Caton e un Doctrinal
Con un Arte manual, etc.

TRANSLATIONS

Of translations (previous to 1500) the most recent, with which I shall begin for the sake of convenience, is by Gonzalo García de Santa María, written in *arte mayor*, in the year 1493. My efforts to see a copy having been unsuccessful, I must confine myself to the following extracts from Gallardo, Vol. III, c. 28:

"El Caton en latin: e en romange."

En 4^o—l. g.—sin fol.—36 h.—con sign., pero sin reclamationes.

Principia con el solo título en un renglón, quedando lo demás de la plana en blanco.

A la vuelta:

"¶ Prologo del doctor Gonçalo Garcia de | Sancta maria: en la obrecilla vulgarmente | llamada el Caton: por el dicho micer Gon | çalo trasladada en coplas

[c. 29] "¶ A mi por cierto la naturaleza me denego la gracia | enel²⁰ | verso: e ahun que yo haya agora emprendido e a- | treuido me a facer esta obrecilla en coplas: han si | do causas. La primera por satisfacer alos ruegos | de Paulo hurus²¹ de constancia Aleman. al qual por | la mucha honra que face en nuestra ciudad e repu | blica: yo por mis fuerças trabajo: e trabajare en | complacer le: por no priuar mi ciudad de tan noble | artificio: que si yo assi oon mi industria como con rue | gos: no le detuuiera: ya se houiere ido. e quedara | esta republica manca: de vn miembro tan noble: | e sutil artificio: inuentado: o tornado en silla en | nuestros dias. El qual ahun que no sea necessario: | no podemos empero negar: que no sea prouechoso: | e non arree mucho la republica de aquesta ciudad: en la qual si no le touieramos: deuria procurar | de le traher ende Alemaña: assi por ser artificio | noble: como ahun por la habilidad del artifice la | qual es tan grande: que si el touiere el papel que hay en | Venecia: su obra se podria muy bien cotejar con aque- | lla. Alomenos es causa mas que cierta: que de lo que | en Hespania se face: su obra tiene la ventaja en letra | e correction: assi de ortographia: como de punctos | Lo qual ahunque [c. 30] en Romange: muchos necios no esti | men: no deue ya por esso ser desestimado. Ca la or | tographia: e puntuacion²² no daña al necio: e apro | uecha al entendido.

"Tornando empero alla donde | poco ante comence: tam bien fue causa del facer esta | obrecilla: este estio mas cerca passado del año pre | sente. Mil. CCCCXCij. el qual fue aqui en Çaragoça | tan fuerte: e de caluras tan sin medida. juncto conla | sospecha: e menazas que teniamos dela peste muy | claras: con algun effecto: que estouiendo muy retrahido | e dando me a cosas de placer: e apartado quasi de ne | gocios: me puse a facer la: e poner en arte mayor | Porque segun la natura del verso latino: que va a pa | res: e es exametro: no me parecia le respondiesse | otra specie de coplas: assi como la arte menor con | uiene al exametro: e penthametro"

[c. 32] La traducción es muy parafrásica; los versos muy broncos.

Encabeza siempre la traducción con el texto latino.

²⁰ en Print.

²¹ See on Hurus, HANBLER in HARTWIG's *Festschrift zum fünfshundertjährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg*, 1900, p. 496.

²² Thus the print. In other cases an underlined letter

means a superfluous letter, e. g., nūqqa 28, 30, aqua 29, 30, quada 30 (however, quadavno 29), or an omitted letter, e. g., guarado 28 (guardado), or a wrong letter, e. g., Metamorphoseos 30, lugares 31 (logares).

La primera copla es :

Como yo ymaginasse²² en mi coraçon :
 errar muchos hombres en esta carrera
 delos (?) costumbres: en graue manera:
 pense en socorrer les de guisa: e de son:
 que no tengan yerros en su opinion:
 mas viuan con gloria: e honras alcançen:
 e como bestias no se den: e lancen:
 a vicios: que lievan el hombre al fondon.

Leerás los preceptos que yo te daré:
 Porque los entendías (l. entiendas), ca tú sabe te
 Que el leer etc.

I do not know what the contemporaries of Micer Gonzalo de Santa María thought of his translation. Posterity seems to have treated it rather slightly. Neither Antonio (*Bibl. nova*, Vol. I, p. 555) nor Latassa-Gomez (*Bibliotecas antigua y nueva de Escritores aragoneses*, Vol. I, p. 595) nor Rios (Vol. VII, p. 319) mentions this translation, although all three devote considerable space to the life and works of the author.

Older is the translation by Maestro Martin García, written in *redondillas de ocho versos*, in the year 1467. Two copies, evidently of the same issue, are known to me. One, in the R. Academia Española, has been described by Sbarbi, *Monografía sobre los refranes*, p. 93. He has omitted to state that on the bottom of the r^o of the first leaf is the following note in an old hand: "Esta es la traduccion de las sentencias de Ca | ton echa por el Maestro Martin Garcias | Siguese la coronacion de Diego Iniguez que es (?) [v^o] De El Pulgar, Quisas (?) de el mismo Fernando de | elpulgar." Does this refer to a work together with which the translation was originally bound? Hernando del Pulgar, at any rate, has not written a *Coronación*; among the *Coronaciones* I am acquainted with—the best-known being that of Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, by Juan de Mena—there is none of a Diego Iniguez, nor can I even find such a name mentioned.

The copy of the R. Academia Española is incomplete, inasmuch as it lacks the first signature (eight leaves). Sbarbi remarks: "Debe de ser libro sumamente raro, pues mis diligencias más activas por ver un ejemplar en muchas de nuestras buenas bibliotecas, no me han proporcionado semejante satisfacción Si no es obra incunable, según todas las apariencias, tiene que ser muy de principios del siglo XVI." More fortunate than Sbarbi, I found a complete copy at the Escorial.

Impresos: 32, V, 19 contains the following:

1. Glosa delas coplas del rreuulgo fecha | por fernando de pulgar para el señor | conde de haro condestable de castilla | (red)

²² Césura after the sixth tonic syllable. Impossible, according to MOREL-FATIO ("L'arte mayor et l'hendécasyllabe"), *Romania*, Vol. XXIII, p. 211, while HANSEN, *Zur span. und portug. Metrik*, p. 6, seems to admit such a half-verse, but only as the second hemistich. But there are other instances, e. g., vs. 9. Of course, one may drop go in vs. 1,

and if *leon*, *sea*, etc., may be considered once in a while as monosyllabic (BELLO, *Ortología*, Madrid, 1890, p. 204), *leerds* in vs. 9 may be considered as dissyllabic. I shall simply leave such verses until the necessity of a change has been clearly proved.

Gothic letter—29 printed leaves, at the beginning 1, at the end 2 white leaves—sign. A. — .Diiij. — s.l.e.a.

2. Letra de fernando de pulgar | delos males dela vejez.

The work contains fourteen more *Letras*.

Gothic letter—17 printed leaves, at the end 1 white leaf—sign. .a. — .bv. — s.l.e.a.

1 and 2 are evidently of the same edition described by Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol.I, p. 285, no. 805, from copies not so perfect as the above, and to which he assigns the date "hacia 1485."

3. [Catón]

4. [Arte de bien morir] [Begins:] A honor e reuerencia de nuestro señor | iesu cristo e dela sacratissima virgen seño | ra santa maria su madre. comiença el tra | tado llamado arte de bien morir conel bre | ue confessorario sacado de latin en roman | çe . . .

Gothic letter—at the beginning 1 white leaf, then 21 printed leaves for the *Arte*, then 13 for the *Confessionario*, then 1 white leaf—no sign.—woodcuts—s.l.e.a.

Not mentioned in the bibliographies at my disposal.

Of the Catón, then, I can give the following account²⁴:

Gothic letter—46 printed leaves, one white leaf at the beginning, another at the end—sign. A.i. — .Fij. — s.l.e.a.

Forty-two leaves are taken up with the translation of the *Disticha*.

fo A.i. ro: La traslation del muy excellente doc | tor chaton lamado fecha por vn egregio | maestro Martin garcia nombrado el pro | hemio compiesa por eminente estilo del | alto tractado.

Asi como lumbré es escuredat,
Quien ²⁵ tiene priuada potentia visua,
Quien tiene ofuscado ²⁶ su intellentia,²⁷
El dezir fundado fallia seguedat.
Mucho bien fablaron de moralidat 5
Todos los poetas por modos diuersos,
En prosa e copla e metros o versos,
Vnos con fictions, otros con verdat.

Lo que Chaton dize segunt mi saber,
Por tal que yo veo en el mundo los legos 10
Con oijos abiertos andar como ciegos,
En noturas ²⁸ palabras lo quiero poner.
Quien este traslado quiera leer,
Aquellya persona qualquiere que sea
Emiende o corrija aquellyo que vea 15
No seyer bien dicho a su parecer.

²⁴ Since most of what relates to this translation was written, I have received through the kindness of P. Benigno Fernández, librarian of the Escorial, several numbers of *La Ciudad de Dios*, the one of September 5, 1901 (Vol. LVI), containing his description of the Escorial copy. Where our statements agree, I regret that the same thing must be published twice. And yet, with the knowledge of P. Fernández, fo B-F (Madrid copy) were copied by me in May, 1897, and fo A (Escorial copy) in April, 1901.

²⁵ FERNÁNDEZ, p. 60: "Falta la prep. a." I do not think so. *quien* = *si quis*, cf. DIEZ, *Gramm.*, p. 1045

(= Vol. III, p. 384), GESSNER, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 487.

²⁶ May remain, cf. BELLO-CUERO, *Notas*, 1898, p. 94.

²⁷ FERNÁNDEZ, p. 60: "Tal vez 'intellectiva.' La concordancia viscaína de este verso no es única en el libro." Possible. But perhaps in the preceding line *visua potentia* is to be read, and in this *intelligentia*.

²⁸ FERNÁNDEZ, p. 62: "noturas palabras = notorias? claras, sencillas." *noturas*, as a formation under the influence of *oscuras*, would not be impossible. Yet I find no other instance.

Inuocation del doctor.

¡ O rey de los reyes! ; ¡ superno senyor! ;
 ¡ Potentia infinida! ; ¡ o bien de los bienes!
 Muestra el poder tamanyo que tienes,
 Porque yo alcance tu inmensa fauor. 20
 ¡ Lucida carrera! ; ¡ nuestro²⁰ guiador!
 Los principios buenos muy bien los [dispones],
 A los reclamantes tu sienpre perdonas,
 Pues de lo tal yo sea merecedor.
 ¡ O reyna e madre intemerada! ; 25
 ¡ O reyna sancta! ; ¡ o flor de las flores!
 Pues eres aquellya que los peccadores
 Desean tener por buena aduocada,
 Quieras seger tu, senyora, aparexada²⁰
 Rogar a tu fijo, sea de mi bando, 30
 Principio e medio e [fin] preparando,
 Que sea mi obra bien conseruada.

Principia el tractado.

(I omit the Latin text that precedes every translation.)

Como yo vea²¹ errar
 En el mundo muchas gentes
 Por muchos inconuenientes, 35
 No supiendo²² se guardar,
 Delibera²³ los conseyar
 Lo que meyor entiendan,²⁴
 Porque de la drecha via
 No pudiesen desuiar. 40
 Porque los tales viuiesen
 En el mundo gloriosos
 E seyendo virtuosos
 A so²⁵ senyor conociesen.
 Por conseguiente podiesen²⁶ 45
 A lo meyor declinando
 Et faziendo el²⁷ que mando
 Sancta gloria mereciesen.

²⁰ *nuestre* I find in BRUTAILS, *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre* (1196-1384), Paris, 1890, p. 106. I would prefer, however, either *nuestro* or *nostra*. *nostre*, *vostre*, due to Catalan influence, are found in Aragonese, though very rarely (HANSEN, *D. Possessivpron. in d. asp. Dialekten*, p. 18). García came from Caspe, which is not far from the Catalan boundary.

²¹ Cf. *San Juan de la Peña*, p. 75: porque él parallado era ayudar et seruir como fillo á padre. But on the same page: Et pues gracia le demandaua, yera aparellado de faser lend. The latter construction seems more usual. The line may be, after all, corrupt. I would prefer *Quieras tu, senyora, ser aparexada*.

²² *viera*? Usually *Como yo vies*

²³ Cf. Appendix II.

²⁴ *Delibré*? Cf. CUREVO, *Dicc.*, s. v. *Deliberar*.

²⁴ *entendia* instead of *entendria*? The use of the imperfect instead of the conditional, in old and familiar language, is frequent enough.

²⁵ *so*, very rare in Aragonese, cf. HANSEN, *Possessivpron.*, p. 18. Our text offers besides l. 202: *tos bienes*; l. 1232: *so saber*.

²⁶ This line is corrupt; perhaps also the preceding line.

²⁷ Cf. l. 144: cierto oyras El que tenias (l. tenies) oluidado; l. 206: si tomas esti castigo, El que diguo, [tu] faras; l. 286: Quieras sienpre comendar A menoria (l. memoria) el que lees (l. leas), Porque sienpre donde seas . . . ; l. 1074: Mi fijo, quieras traer El que mando (l. manda) mi tractado. May one compare this with the fact that we find *el supér-fino*, *el sublime*, *el sumo*, etc., by the side of *lo supér-fino*, *lo sublime*, *lo sumo*, etc.?

Hora te quiero traher, Fijo mio, buen castigado (l. castigo). Sey atento a lo que digo E quieras lo segesser. ³⁸ Si continuas leer E muy bien lo entendieres, Qualquiere fecho ³⁹ fiziere[s], Nunca temas de caer.	50 55
Mucho bueno es el leher ⁴⁰ A quien el entender cobra, Quien no lo pone por obra Es dicho menospresiar. Bien se puede comparar Aquesti de quien yo fablo Propiamente al retaulo ⁴¹ Que sierbe ⁴² poria quatar. ⁴³	 60 65
Cree en dios enteramente Et (en) la sancta trinidad; Ponlo por antecedente Sienpre en tu necessitat. Et cree cierto en verdat Que solo puede valer Mas que no puede nozer ⁴⁴ Toda vna ciudat. ⁴⁵	65 70 (Prol. 1.)

With the latter stanza begins the translation of the *Sententiae* proper. There are forty-eight of them, as compared with fifty-six in Hauthal's edition. The *Neminem riseris* (Prol. 31) has been translated twice (33 and 44). The *Minime iudica* (Prol. 53) appears as *Neminem iudica* (10). The order also varies very much. The last reads:

Segunt fuero et razon, Mi fijo, por amicia Nunqua pases la iusticia Aut ⁴⁶ por sobornation. ⁴⁷ Al que con su intention Pariudicha su crestiano, Dios del cielo sobirano ¿ Como puede dar perdon ?	445 (Prol. 43.)
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³⁸ Once more in l. 648: *segesser*: *conocer*. The glossary of the *Fuero de Navarra* has *Següecen* (l. *Seguecen*) = *Siguen*, *Següesca* (l. *Seguesca*) = *Siga*.

³⁹ For the omission of *que*, see CUREYO, *Dicc.*, s. v. *Cualquiera*.

⁴⁰ A rhyme in *-ar* is needed; perhaps *loar*?

⁴¹ Is a *retablo* meant, like the famous "retablo de Melisendra"? If so, what is the "tertium comparationis"?

⁴² So also l. 523: *sieruen*.

⁴³ *por i aquatar*?

⁴⁴ *Morea*, p. 62: *nozer*, usually *nozir*.

⁴⁵ *ciudad* trisyllabic? Cf. TORRES NARRO, *Propaladia*, Vol. I (1880), p. 238: *Á Zafí, gran ciudad*.

⁴⁶ *O?*

⁴⁷ On *-ion* dissyllabic, cf. HANSEN, *Miscelánea de Versificación castellana*, p. 19; BELLO, *Ortología*, p. 208.

The first book of the distichs begins :

Sea todo tu entender
Vn solo dios verdadero ; 450
Con el corazon entero
En aquel deues creher,
Amar, honrar et temer
Con tu piensa apareyada,
Que te fizo de nonada 455
Et te puede desfazer. (I, 1.)

Ends :

Sea tu cosa comuna
Los amigos contentando, 770
Mas hahun no oluidando,
Fijo, por cosa ninguna
Acahece que⁴⁹ la fortuna
Lo que allyego derama.
Pues aquel que a si (no) ama 775
No pase cosa alguna. (I, 40.)

Fenece el capitol segundo.⁵⁰ Comienza el
tercero de la felicitat.

Fijo, si quieras cerquar⁵¹
La felicitat et gloria,
Recollige en tu memoria
Lo que quiero declarar. 780
Muchos quisieron fablar
Esta⁵² por diuersos modos,
Mas lo que dizieron todos
Verlo⁵³ puedes en su lugar.

The second book begins :

Vnos dizen en riquezas 785
Consiente⁵⁴ (l. Consiste) felicitat.
Si tienes tal voluntat,
Trebaya(n)⁵⁵ sinse⁵⁶ peresa.

⁴⁹ *Que a veces seems to me better than to drop the following la.*

⁵⁰ In counting thus, the translator must have considered the *Prologus* as *capitol primero*.

⁵¹ = to seek; cf. l. 805: Fijo, no quieras cerquar Question con tu amigo; l. 1655: En manera que abaste Deues lo tuyo gastar Que no vayas a cerquar Lo que ante desejaste. The glossary of *San Juan de la Peña* has "Cercando = Investigando, tratando," that of Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara, 1884, "Cercar = Buscar y rodear (Ital. cercare)."

⁵² *Destá?*

⁵³ I would either drop *lo* or write *pues*. Cf. for the latter, l. 1149: Si no pues multiplicar; l. 1485: Eso mesmo pues creer; l. 1679: El principio pues tener. I would also read *pues* instead of *puedes* l. 465: La virtud que puedes

auer; l. 733: Al amigo puedes pensar. *pues* = *puede* occurs *Rím. Pal.* 41: Finca en muy grant culpa e non se *pue* salvar.

⁵⁴ *consentir* is used instead of *consistir* also l. 430: En aquello que es dado No consiente el beneficio; l. 793: Consiente felicitat Segunt otra opinion Solo en la prolongacion De venir en sanedat; l. 1176: en el pobre pensamiento Consiente la pobredat. It is the printer, not the author, who did not know the difference between the two, for in rhyme they appear in their proper use.

⁵⁵ Thus throughout. In l. 621: Si trebaya la fortuna De l'alteza al profundo . . . read *te baya*.

⁵⁶ Very frequent in the text. Elsewhere I have found it only in *Romania*, Vol. XXX, p. 64, 111. MORRIS-FATIO, in a note, refers to Catalan *sense*.

Virgilio con grant saueza
 Puso de la agricultat (l. agricultura) 790
 Por la qual toda natura
 Mientene (l. Mantiene) la gentileza.

Ends :

Mi fijo, tu nunca creas 1065
 En venedades (l. vanedades) con sue[n]yos,
 (Ni ygromanticos) (l. Nigromanticos) ni duenyos ;⁵⁶
 En dios sienpre firme seas.
 Lo que velando deseas
 Con plazer mucho reyendo, 1070
 Quando te fallas dormiendo,⁵⁷
 Parace (l. Parece) que [tu] lo veas. (II, 31.)
 Fenece el tercero. Principia el cuarto.

The third book begins :

Mi fijo, quieras traer
 El que mando (l. manda) mi tractado
 E seras, fijo, dotado, 1075
 Lleno de mucho saber.
 De que tengas l'entender,
 Mi fijo, ponlo por obra ;
 No solamente se cobra
 El sumo bien por el [?]. 1080

Ends :

Padre et madre querer,
 Fijo, (mio en) (l. sea) tu motiuo⁵⁸
 Et deues ser su catiuo, 1275
 Pues daronte el seyer.
 Guardate de ofender,
 Fijo mio, a tu madre,
 Si tu quieres a tu padre
 Todo sienpre⁵⁹ conplazer. (III, 24.) 1280
 Fenece el capitulo quarto. Comiença el cinqueno.

The fourth book begins :

Tu, mi fijo, que deseas
 Traer la vida segura,
 Tien(e)⁶⁰ la virtud pues que dura,

⁵⁶ *duenyo* = *duende*.⁵⁷ *Cf. dormiendo* ll. 359, 1071; *seruiendo* l. 634.⁵⁸ *Cf. l. 1417: Sea, fijo, tu motiuo . . .*⁵⁹ *Todo sienpre*, very frequent in the text. *tot siempre* Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo (MENÉNDEZ PIDAL) 13.⁶⁰ *Cf. l. 353: Fijo, tien el opro (l. ojo) abierto; l. 631; l. 963: Tien(e) tu casa bien regida.*

Mientras viuo e muerte (l. muerto) seas.
 Pues trebaya que poseas 1285
 Aquel [muy] santo reposo
 E seyendo virtuoso
 La ciencia cobraras.⁶¹

Ends :

Si puse las cardinales
 Tanto breue, no te amires⁶²
 Et tu ingenio nol tires,
 Fijo, destes versos tales.
 Si catas, adquerir vales⁶³ 1685
 Con estos virtut atanta
 Et ganar la gloria santa,
 Major bien de los mortales. (IV, 49.)

De que tracta et en que dia fue fecha (*sic*).

Las quatro virtudes son
 Puestas en esti tractado, 1690
 Bien creo sea llamado
 Le (l. La) etica de Cathon.
 Et fue dada conclusion
 En vn dia plazentero,
 Jueves eso⁶⁴ de janero, 1695
 A la dita traslacion.

En que anyo fue fecho (*sic*).

El presente ya se quanto (l. cuenta)
 Del diuino nacimiento
 Mil et siete con sesenta
 Et mas quatre⁶⁵ fazen (l. vezes) ciento. 1700
 Gracias inmensas presiento,⁶⁶
 Pues me daron poder tanto
 Padre et fijo et espiritu⁶⁷ santo,
 Los tres principes te cuento.

Fenece la(s) traslacion del Cathon fecha por
 maestro Martin Garcia.

Deo gracias.

⁶¹ A rhyme in *-eas* is needed.

⁶² = *admires*.

⁶³ = *poder* as in Italian. Cf. l. 1281: Muerte ni cosas tales (l. atales), Fijo, te ruego no temas; Car por mucho que tu remas, De su dominio no falyes (l. sales). Pues resistir no le vales, Enque (l. Anque) parece muy mala, Es cierto, si me Dios vala, Fin de los mundanos males. L. 1379:

Si fueses en vn poder De sierpes et animales, Entre (l. Contra) todos estes (l. estos) val(l)es, Mi fijo, te defender. Pero quierasme temer El hombre. . . .

⁶⁴ Correct?

⁶⁵ Catalan.

⁶⁶ From *presentar*.

⁶⁷ *spirtu*?

The following four leaves contain a poem, addressed to Jesus, in twenty-three stanzas of eight and one of four verses.

Begins :

Tu Ihesu muy digno,⁶⁶
Fuente de todas virtudes,
Yo, peccador muy indigno,
Muy menguado de soludes (l. saludes),
Te pido merçet (que) my (l. me) ajudes
Tu sciencia mager digna⁶⁷
(Que) no se hotra medicina,
Si tu, senyor, no me ajudes.

Ends :

Zela sienpre sobre nos
Por tu potencia infinida,
Sobirano senyor dios,
Pues diestes muerte por vida,
Porque no sea perdida
Contra⁷⁰ gente peccadora
Que delante de ti lyora
Recorriendo a tu guardia (l. guarida).

Fin.

Virgen de dios eschoida,
Maria, nuestra senyora,
Seas nuestra intercesora,
Pues para esto fues⁷¹ nacida.
Sic est finis. Deo gracias.

Particulars about the life and works of the translator of Cato, Martin García Puyazuelo (about 1441-1521), may be learned from Antonio, *Bibl. nova*, Vol. II, p. 102,⁷² and Latassa-Gomez, Vol. I, p. 597.

As to the place and date of the print I would venture a conjecture. It seems to me very probable that the book was printed in Zaragoza, the city where the author spent the larger part of his life. He certainly was there from 1467, when he wrote the work, to 1476, when he left for Bologna,⁷³ and after 1480, when he returned. Now, according to Haebler in Hartwig's *Festschrift zum fünfhundertjährigen Geburtstage von Johann Gutenberg*, pp. 490, 493, and 496, printing was introduced in Zaragoza first by Matthew of Flanders in 1475, then by a printer whose name we do not know, in 1478, and finally by Hurus, in 1488, when it came to stay. One of these

⁶⁶ If *muy* cannot count as dissyllabic, the verse lacks two syllables. Perhaps *Tu, dulce Ihesu . . .* ?

⁶⁷ I do not know what to do with this verse.

⁷⁰ = *cuanta*? Cf. BORAO, *Dicc. de Voces aragonesas*, 1884, s. v. *contra*.

⁷¹ = *fuest*. Cf. l. 142: No seas desenfrenado En fablar [def] lo cobras (l. que obras), Sino cierto oyras El que tenias (l. tenies) olvidado. Cf. also Prov. *fus, bailas* (Girart); *anica, fesis, venguis* (Monk of Montaudon).

⁷² ANTONIO mentions on the same page a translation of the *Disticha Catonis* of the year 1556, by *Martinus Godoy de Loaisa, Seguntinae ecclesiae decanus*. The two translators have been confused by CLEMENCIN in his note to *Don Quijote*, Vol. I (1833), p. LII.

⁷³ ANTONIO says that Martin García was in Bologna as early as 1466; LATASSA says 1476. The latter's statements seem to me to deserve more confidence.

three I suppose to have been the printer. That he was a foreigner who knew very little Spanish seems to be indicated by the numberless misprints. I shall not be surprised if the print is assigned by others to Matthew of Flanders rather than to the Anonymus who printed while Martin García was away in Italy, or to Hurus who in 1493 became the publisher of Gonzalo de Santa Maria's version of Cato. It seems probable that a book which was destined to serve for the instruction of children, and hence to be read by a very large circle of readers, would have appeared in print as soon as the opportunity offered.

The oldest translation, finally, of the *Disticha Catonis* is by an Anonymus, in *quaderna via*, and belongs to the thirteenth century.

This text, as far as I can tell, is not extant in manuscript form. Only sixteenth century prints are known. The two following are indicated by Gallardo, but seem to have disappeared:

Biblioteca Colombina. Cf. *Registrum librorum don Ferdinandi Colon*, etc.: "Castigos y ejemplos de Platon (*sic*); proceden en manera de coplas. I. 'En Roma fué un hombre.' D. 'Y á la Virgen Maria.' Es en 4°.—Costó en Medina del Campo 8 maravedís." (Gallardo, Vol. II, c. 535, no. 3322.)

Burgos, 1563 (Bibl. Gayangos). Cf. Gallardo, Vol. I, c. 650: "514. Caton. Exemplos de Caton. (Grab. en mad.) Castigos y exemplos, que dio | el sabio Caton á su hijo. | Ahora nueuamen | te impresos. (*Al fin.*) Impreso con licencia en Burgos en casa de | Felipe de Junta. Año. M. D. Lxiiij. (B.-G.)"⁷⁴

4°.—12 h., sign. A—Port.—Texto.—Nota final.

Principia:

En Roma fue vn hombre que dezian Caton
Castigaua á su hijo, con muy gran deuocion
Como pusiesse su vida, en buena intencion
Guarneciolo de costumbres, y de buena razon.

Assi como el padre, el hijo nombre auia
En los castigos del padre, el coraçon tenia
En dichos y en hechos, al padre bien seguia
Assi como oyreis, el padre le dezia.

Acaba:

Deues de hablar poco, y con templado corazon
Quando alguno te hablare, escucha bien su razon
No respondas muy presto, hasta ver su intencion
Que responder do no deues no es locura ni razon.

Hijo todo te lo he dicho, quanto decir te queria
Entiende bien mis palabras, y siguelas en toda tu via
Y en el coraçon auras gran mejoría
Hijo á Dios te encomiendo y á la Virgen Maria."

⁷⁴ It is a pity that Fernan Colon did not add in this case, as he did in others, the imprint of the work or, at least, the date he bought it. It was printed before 1539 (the year Colon died), and, as I know of only one other edition before this date, it may be worth while to state the fact expressly.

⁷⁵ Neither could the book be found in 1897 at the home of Riaño, then guardian of the Gayangos library, nor in 1901 at the Bibl. Nac., which has since acquired the Gayangos collections. I should not wonder, however, if it came to light some day in a "tomo de varios."

I have been fortunate enough to find copies of five more editions. The most recent is:

Alcalá de Henares, 1586 (Sevilla, Library of the Marqués de Jerez). (A)

[Bordered title-page] Exemplos de Caton. | [Woodcut] Castigos y exemplos | que dio el Sabio Caton a su hijo. | Agora nueuamente | impresos | [Begins on the v^o of the t.-p. Colophon:] ¶ Impresso con licencia de los señores del consejo de su | Magestad, en Alcala de Henares en casa de Se-|bastian Martinez que sea en gloria fuera de | la puerta de los sanctos Martyres. | Año. M. D. Lxxxvj.

Gothic letter—12 leaves—sign. Aij-Avij.⁷⁶

Described by Sharbi, *Monografía sobre los Refranes*, p. 172, and less fully by Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, 1895, p. 17.

Older is:

Medina del Campo, 1543 (Sevilla, Library of the Duque de T'Serclaes).

“¶ Castigos y enxem-plos de Caton .: . | Año. M. D. xliij.

(Al fin:) ¶ Fue impresso el presente tratado en la muy | noble villa de Medina del campo: por Pe | dro de Castro impressor. Acabose a .xj. | dias del mes de Setiembre. Año | de nuestro saluador Iesu | christo de .M. D. xliij.

4°. 12 hojas sin foliar.—Sign. A.—Let. gót. Portada con orla; precede al título el escudo del impresor.—V^o. en blanco.—Texto.—Colofón.—Página en blanco.

Consta de 142 estrofas. Principia:

En Roma fue vn hombre que dezian Caton
Castigaua asu hijo con muy gran deuocion
Como pudiesse su vida en buena intencion
Guarneciolo de costumbres y de buena razon.”

I have quoted the last description from a letter of the Marqués de Jerez, brother of the Duque de T'Serclaes. The Marqués offered to bring this print and the Alcalá print to Madrid; but, after glancing at the indications of place, printer, and date, I somewhat hastily concluded that the former was the edition of which I had already found a copy in 1897 (see below), and therefore did not avail myself of his kind offer.

Then follows, by the same printer:

Medina del Campo, 1543 (Madrid, Bibl. Nac.—R 3145). (M¹)

[Bordered title-page] Castigos y | exemplos | de Caton. | Nueuamente impresso (*sic*). | 1543 [Begins on f^o. aij r^o. Colophon:] ¶ Fue impresso el presente tratado: en la muy | noble villa de Medina del campo: por | Pedro de Castro. Acabose a | xvj. dias del mes de. Ene-|ro. Año de mil y quinien | tos y quarenta | y tres años.

Gothic letter—12 leaves—sign. aij-avj.

By the same printer is finally:

Medina del Campo, 1542 (London, Brit. Mus.—1072.g.20. (9)). (M¹)

⁷⁶I am under obligations to Pérez Pastor and Menéndez y Pelayo, who wrote in my behalf to the Marqués de Jerez, and especially to the latter for his kindness in letting me use the copy in 1901 at Madrid.

[Bordered title-page] Castigos y | exemplos | de Caton. | Nueuamente ympresso (*sic*). | Año, de mil. y quinientos. y xl. y ii. [Colophon:]

¶ Fue ympresso el presente tratado: en la muy noble uilla de Medina del campo fecho por Pedro de castro ympressor. Acabose a deçi siete dias delmes de Febrero. Año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y dos Años.

Gothic letter—12 leaves—sign. aij-avj.⁷⁷

Described by Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 17, from Heber Cat. (8, no. 2440).

The earliest edition is:

Leon, 1533 (Vienna, K. K. Hofbibliothek—32. T. 28). (L)

[Woodcut covering the title-page] [Below:] ¶ Castigos y exemplos de Caton: | nueuamente impressos. [Begins on v° of t.-p. Colophon:] ¶ Fue impresso el presente tractado | en la muy noble ciudad de Leon: en casa de | Juan de Leon imprimidor de libros. | Acabose a. xx. dias del mes de | Julio. Año de nuestro | señor Jesu christo | de. M. y. D. y | xxxiiij. años.

Gothic letter—10 leaves—sign. aij-av.⁷⁸

Was there an earlier print than this one? The title-page says “nueuamente impressos.” It is true that Cañete in his edition of Lucas Fernandez, p. Lxxxix, calls these words “frase con que entónçes [1514] se quería significar que la obra se daba por primera vez á la estampa.” But considering the fact that this version appears to have enjoyed a greater popularity than the other two, it seems probable that there were earlier prints.

A poem in *quaderna via* of the sixteenth century! Sarmiento, *Memorias*, 1775, p. 190, observes: “En quanto á la antigüedad de estos versos [alexandrinos] en España, es mas facil saber cuándo se acabaron, que cuándo comenzaron. Se podrá decir que desde el año de 1400, hasta ahora, ya no se usan.” Practically the same statement has been made by Ticknor, Vol. I (*Boston), p. 32, note (= Julius and Wolf, Vol. I, p. 26, n.); Rios, Vol. V, p. 116; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, Vol. IV, p. xxxv; Baist in Gröber's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 421. The latter has already assigned an earlier date to our poem. He has in mind the period of Pero Lopez de Ayala († 1407). It is, in fact, to be dated still further back.

Dist. III, 18:

Multa legas facito, perlectis neglege multa:
Nam miranda canunt, sed non credenda poetae

⁷⁷ I owe the above description and a collation with the preceding print to my colleague and friend, Professor F. I. Carpenter.

the kind offices Dr. R. Beer of the Hofbibliothek has rendered me, not only in calling my attention to the copy, but also in getting me a photographic facsimile of the print.

⁷⁸ It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge, in this place,

is rendered in copla 17 of our version

Hijo mio lee muchos libros, otrosi los ditados ;
De todo lo que dizen noagas sus mandados.
Ca muchos de los maestros en algo son culpados
Por do no son creydos ni sus hechos obrados.

Now, Pedro Pasqual, *Sobre el Credo* (Ms. III, P, 21 of the Escorial, f° 1, r°) reads as follows:

Mas, fijo, ley muchos libros et ditados ;
Mas de quocantos leyerer non fagas sus mandados.
Car mucho dizen los sauos et ponen en sus dictados
Que non deuen ser creydos nin deuen ser obrados.

F° 35, v°:

Fijo, ley muchos libros et muchos dictados ;
Mas de quocantos leyerer non faras sus mandados.
Car mucho dizen los sauos et ponen en sus dictados
Que non deuen ser creydos nin deuen ser obrados.

Again, *Dist. IV, 27*:

Discere ne cessa : cum sapientia crescit,
Rara datur longo prudentia temporis usu

reads in our version (copla 133):

Nunca mientras biuieres, cesses de aprender.
Siempre de buenas costumbres te deues proueer.
Ca por mucho estudio el seso te puede crescer;
Que la sabiduria gran vso quiere auer.

Cf. Pedro Pasqual, loc. cit., f° 1, r°:

Fijo, mientras biuieres, non quedes de aprender ;
Que por su mal nacio todo aqueill que necio quiere ser.

One may finally compare copla 1:

En Roma fue vn hombre que dezian (A llamaron) Caton
Castigaua a su hijo
Guarneciolo de costumbres y de buena razon

with Pedro Pasqual, *loc. cit., f° 1, r°:*

oy leyer vna vez vn libro de castigos que se clama Caton que castigaua a
ssu fijo et dizia li esta razon.

There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that Pedro Pasqual knew of our version.
As Pedro Pasqual died in 1300, the version belongs to the thirteenth century.

The version is based upon the *Disticha Catonis*, but it is very free.

The order of the *Castigos* is entirely different from that of the *Sententiae* and *Disticha*. While a series of *Castigos* is frequently given in the same, or comparatively the same order in which either the corresponding *Sententiae* or the *Disticha* follow each other, yet the division of the original into (1) *Sententiae* and (2) *Disticha* has not been observed, nor has the traditional general arrangement been respected.

Several cases are met with where the Spanish corresponds but vaguely to a *Sententia* or a *Distichon*; moreover, not all the *Sententiae* are represented in the version, nor all the *Disticha*. On the other hand, the author has drawn the material for at least three coplas from a *Supplementum Catonis, Facetus*,⁷⁹ or some other book of the same character. These coplas are 88, 89, and 109.

The poem consists of 143⁸⁰ coplas, each of four verses.

The same rhyme is repeated through four verses (one copla), sometimes (coplas 3-4—ado, 8-9—ado, 70-71—ar, 79-80—ar, 109-10—ir) through eight verses (two coplas).

The rhyme is perfect, "asonante" perhaps only in coplas 10: *mejoria : vida* and 73: *natura : burla*. In copla 137: *callantio : vido, vio* (i. e., *vto*) may be read; in 143: *queria : vida, via* is to be read.

As for the structure of the verse, I must confine myself to the following remark. Considering in the first ten coplas those hemistichs where the counting of syllables is least complicated, we have hemistichs of four syllables (the fourth syllable being the last accented): 5 d 2 *deus guardar*; of five or six syllables (the fifth syllable being the last accented): 5 b 2 *te quiero mostrar*, 4 a 2 *ser bienenseñado*, 8 a 2 *yras al mercado*; of six or seven syllables: 1 d 2 *y de buena razon*, 3 d 2 *por ser biendoctrinado*, etc.; of seven or eight syllables: 3 c 1 *de lo que le castigo*, 2 b 1 *en los castigos del padre*, etc.; of eight or nine syllables: 7 c 2 *sobre la tierra biuiras*, 6 b 2 *siempre de buen acatamiento*, 10 d 1 *ca mejor biuiras alegre*; of ten syllables (the ninth being the last accented): 10 d 2 *que lazerado toda tu vida*.

The author cannot be made responsible for this chaos. One may readily admit that he wrote here and there unconsciously a *verso de romance* where he meant to write an *alejandrino*. However, all the verses that are neither *versos de romance* nor *alejandrinos*, and by far the greater number of the *versos de romance*, are due to the scribes and to the printers. But how distinguish between the *versos de romance* that are the author's and those that are the scribes'? I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that in a critical text I shall try to make every verse an *alejandrino*. The following specimen I beg to have considered merely as a first attempt. Some of the changes were absolutely necessary; but to print side by side *hijo, pusies, guarneciol* (cf. copla 1) seemed absurd. Thus I had to go further than I originally intended.

⁷⁹ Hardly from that which MOREL-FATIO has published, *Rom.*, Vol. XV, pp. 224-35, and which begins *Moribus et vita quisquis vult esse factus*.

⁸⁰ The print Medina del Campo, 1543, in the possession

of the Duque de T'Serclaes, is said to consist of 142 coplas. Inasmuch as the other two prints of Medina del Campo (1543 and 1542) have 143 coplas, this is perhaps a mistake in counting.

¶ Aqui comiençan los casti-
gos y doctrinas que dio el sa-
bio Caton a su hijo.

1. EN roma fue un hombre que dezian Caton
castigaua a su hijo con muy gran deuocion
como pusiesse su vida en buena intencion
guarneciolo de costumbres y de buena razon.

a llamaron A. b a] lacking in A. c pusiese M¹ M².

2. ¶ Assi como el padre el hijo nombre auia
en los castigos del padre el coraçon tenia
en dichos y en fechos al padre bien seguia
assi como oyreys el padre le dezia.

c hechos M¹ M² A.

3. ¶ E como el moço de su padre era mandado
y en no saber costumbres era muy abaxado
de lo que le castigo tomo muy gran cuydado
començose a guarnecer por ser biendoctrinado.

a E] lacking in M²; Y A. c tuuo A.

4. ¶ Todo hombre que quisiere ser bienenseñado
en aqueste mi romance ponga su cuydado
que si el bien guardare lo que aqui es mandado
puede ser biendichoso y bienauenturado.

a enseñado M¹ M².

5. ¶ Agora mi hijo te quiero castigar
y en quanto yo pudiere te quiero mostrar
si tu coraçon quisieres en ello ordenar
hijo mis mandamientos deues guardar.

c si el tu A. quieres A. d deues de guardar A.

6. ¶ Lo que yo hijo te mando sobre todo mandamiento
que te humilles a dios siempre de buen acatamiento
ca el hizo el cielo con todo el firmamiento
el fuego y el agua/la tierra y el viento.

a demando A. b talento M¹ M² A. c firmamento M¹ M² A. d agu M¹.

7. ¶ A tu padre y a tu madre mucho los honrraras
y a tus parientes tambien los amaras
que por esto largamente sobre la tierra biuiras
y si fueren menesterosos por ellos affanaras.

a y madre A. honrraras A. b tan bien M¹ M². armaras A. c viuiras A.

Aqui comiençan los castigos e dotrinas
que dio el sabio Caton a su fijo.

1. En Roma fue vn hombre que dezian Caton.
Castigaua a²¹ su fijo con muy gran deuocion,
Como pusies su vida en buena intencion.
Guarnesciol de costumbres e de buena rrazon.
2. Assi como el padre el fijo nombre auia.
Los castigos del padre en coraçon tenia.
En dichos e en fechos al padre bien seguia.
Assi como oyredes el padre le dezia.
3. E como el mancebo del padre era mandado
E en non saber costumbres era muy abaxado,
De lo quel castigo tomo muy gran cuydado.
Començos a guarnir por seer dotrinado.
4. Todo hombre que quisiere seer bienenseñado
En aquest mi rromance ponga el su cuydado;
Que, si el bien guardare lo que y es mandado,
Pued seer biendichoso e bienauenturado.
- 5.²² Agora, fijo mio, te quiero castigar
E en quanto yo pudiere, te quiero demostrar.
Si tu coraçon quier en ello ordenar,
Fijo, mis mandamientos deueslos de guardar.
6. Yo, fijo, te demando sobre tod²³ mandamiento
Quet humilles a Dios de buen acatamiento;
Ca el fizo el cielo con todol firmamento,
El fuego e el agua, la tierra e el viento. (Prol. 1.)
7. A tu padre e madre mucho los honrraras
E a los tus parientes tan bien los amaras.
Por esto largamente sobre tierra biuras,
E si fueren menguados, por ellos lazraras. (Prol. 2, 8.)

²¹ I admit here and in other cases synalopha between the same vowels; also in *ensura*. I am even inclined to believe that, though exceptionally, synalopha between two different vowels was already allowed in the Spanish poetry of the thirteenth century. HANSEN's investigations (*Sobre el Hiato en la antigua Versificación castellana*, 1896) that led him to deny any synalopha at that period, are based on some premises that are doubtful, while others are presumably wrong (cf. e. g., for the prosodic value of *sey*, *rey*, etc., HANSEN, *Miscelánea de Versificación castellana*, 1897, § 15, 4, and, on the other hand, CORNU, *Romania*, Vol. IX, p. 71, and BAIST, *Zeitschrift*, Vol. IV, p. 471). I cannot, therefore, accept Hansen's thesis. Nor can I agree with STENGEL, who (*Krit. Jahresber.*, Vol. IV, 1, p. 380) calls this thesis "an und für sich wahrscheinlich." For BERCEO, who read *En santa Dei ecclesia* S. Mill. 87, and *Beati immaculati* Milagr. 262, I should claim just the opposite.

²² Copla 5 perhaps originally followed 2.

²³ I am doubtful about the apocope of -o in *todo*. HANSEN's three instances (*Misc.*, § 4, 5) *Milagr.* 884: El lego e el clerigo tod al seso perdieron; *Lores* 196: Ca todo nuestro

esfuerzo nos en ti lo ponemos; *Milagr.* 303: Murió de fin qual dé Dios a tot xpiano, are certainly not decisive. Least of all the first, where *todol* (or *todel*, later form) is to be read. In the the second instance, one may drop *Ca*, or read *todo el*, or perhaps *nuestro esfuerzo*. In the third, one may read *tot* or *todo*, according as one supposes Berceo to have pronounced in this case *Dios* or *Díde* (cf. BAIST in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 408, note 2, and HANSEN, *Misc.*, § 9, 5. By the way, the rhyme *Duelo* 178: judios: Dios should not have been quoted by the latter in favor of *Dios*. One who pronounced *Díde*, as Berceo certainly did, may also have pronounced *iudíde*, cf. J. RUIZ 1193: nos: díos: jodios: vos; 1637: jodios: nos: díos: tos; FRAY DIEGO DE VALENCIA (*Canc. Baena*, p. 528): judios: Dios: vos). An argument in favor of apocope in the last case is the spelling *tot*.

Of no more value than the above instances is *Alex.* 551: Feríol en [el] escudo tod su poder metiendo. Less objectionable seems *Milagr.* 19: un buen prado, En qui trova repaire tot romeo cansado. Suspicious is *Alex.* 953: Pero tod su ganancia nol pudo amparar.

8. ¶ Tu muy sabiamente yras al mercado
y de lo que mercares no quedas engañado
sino por aventura ayna seras ayrado
y tu mismo veras que eres bauieca prouado.

b comprares A. *c* ventura A. ayna] ay no M¹ M²; ay A. *d* mesmo M¹ M².
bauieco M¹ M².

9. ¶ Otrosi mi hijo sey siempre mesurado
porque entre las gentes seas honrrado
vsa de limpieza en tu vestido y calçado
y a todas las gentes seras muy bienhablado.

b tu seas mas honrrado M¹ M²; tu seas honrrado A. *c* en vestir y calçado A.
calçapo M¹.

10. ¶ Si ouieres lazeria lleuala con alegria
porque la puedas sufrir solamente vn dia
y en tu coraçon auras gran alegria
ca mejor biuiras alegre que lazerado toda tu vida.

c abras M¹ M²; aura A. grande M¹ M² A. *d* viuiras A.

12. ¶ El que no quiere mas de lo que manda natura
que aya parayso quando fuere su mesura
este sera rico y aura vida segura
assi que de auaricia no deues auer cura.

c abra M¹ M².

19. ¶ Quando fueres ayrado y llorare tu muger
hijo las sus palabras no quieras creer
ca por esso lora porque te pueda vencer
y por lo que ella quiere que tu no quieres hazer.

22. ¶ Mira tu hijo que como tu quieres tomar
assi de buen grado de lo tuyo deues dar
ca por esto tus amigos te quieren mejor acatar
que obras hazen querencias por do se suelen amar.

a tu mi hijo A. que] lacking in A. *c* querran M¹ M².

32. ¶ Hijo a los que conoces haz bien y con buen tiento
ca digo gran verdad y cree que no miento
mas vale buen amigo ganar por seruimiento
que no procurar ruego de vn vil auariento.

b creo A. *c* buen M¹.

36. ¶ No quieras tu mi hijo lo poco menospreciar
y lo que mucho fuere no le deues amar
que muy mas llanamente suele la naue andar
a las vezes por el rio que no haze por la mar.

b no lo M¹ M² A. deues de amar M¹ M².

8. Tu muy⁶⁴ sabiamiente yras poral mercado
E de lo que mercares non quedés engañado,
Sino por auentura ayna seras yrado
E tu mesmo veras que eres loco prouado. (Prol. 5.)
9. Otrosi, fijo mio, sey bien mesurado,
Porque entre las yentes tu seas mas honrrado.
Vsa de limpieza en vestir e calçado
E a todas las yentes seras muy bienhablado. (Prol. 8, 29.)
10. Si ouieres lazerio, lieual con alegria,
Porquel puedas sufrir solamiente vn dia
E en tu coraçon auras gran mejoría ;
Mejor biuras alegre que lazado tu vida. (III, 6.)
12. El que non quiere mas de lo que da natura
Que aya para vso, quanto fuer su mesura,
Aqueste sera rico e vida aura segura
Assi que dauaricia non deue auer cura. (IV, 2.)
19. Quando fuere yrada e llorar tu muger,
Fijo, las sus palabras non las quieras creer;
Ca por aquesso llora que te pueda vencer,
Porque lo que ella quiere, tu non quieres fazer. (III, 20.)
22. Mira tu, fijo mio, como quieres tomar,
Assi de tu buen grado de lo to deues dar.⁶⁵
Por esto tus amigos te querran mas catar ;
Obras fazen querencias⁶⁶ por dos suelen amar.⁶⁷ (I, 35.)
32. A los que non conosces faz bien e con buen tiento ;
Ca digo gran verdad e crey que non miento,
Mas valie buen amigo ganar por seruimiento
Que non procurar rregno a vn vil auariento. (II, 1.)
36. Non quieras tu, mi fijo, lo poco despreciar
E lo que mucho fuere non lo deues amar ;
Que muy mas llanamiento suel la naue andar
A vezes por el rrio que non faz por la mar. (II, 6.)

⁶⁴ *muy* dissyllabic? Cf. HANSEN, *Misc.*, § 16, 3. *sabiamiente*, in the same hemistich, seems suspicious.

⁶⁵ Cf. J. RUIZ 173: quien toma dar deue (l. deue dar), dízelo sabio en viso.

⁶⁶ SANTILLANA's reading (p. 517): "Obras son queren-

cias" is perhaps preferable to mine. The proverb is, therefore, a good deal older than VOLLMÖLLER, *Laberinto amoroso*, p. 80, thinks.

⁶⁷ How are we to amend this hemistich?

49. ¶ Avnque tus amigos no se quieran membrar
del bien y del seruicio que tu les solias far
por esto de tu dios no quieras detestar
mas a tus peccados deues la culpa echar.

a quieren M' M'. *b* le A. dar A. *c* de] lacking in M' M' A. *d* pecados A.

53. ¶ No quieras palabras muy dulces despendar
como haze el paxarero que las aues suele prender
ca quien engañoso es tal le deuen ser
y quien a otro engaña engañado deue ser.

b pajarero M' M'; paxaro A. *c* deuen de ser A.

65. ¶ Ante piensa la cosa que te ha de venir
miraras el daño que se te puede seguir
porque ligeramente della puedas salir
no digas quien pensara que me pudiera nuzir.

a te] lacking in A. haya M' M' A. *b* dño M'. *d* pueda A. dezir M' M';
seguir A.

67. ¶ Si ouieres muchos bienes haz tu prouecho dellos
los bienes que ouieres sey para despendellos
no seas como el caluo quando auia cabellos
que los preciaua poco despues quedo sin ellos.

c tenia A. *d* y despues M' M'.

73. ¶ Sey sabido do deuieres y haz toda medida
con los locos haz locura y con los cuerdos cordura
esfuérçate quanto pudieres de auer esta natura
adonde jugaren juega adonde burlaren burla.

a diuieres M'. *d* a do M' M' A.

75. ¶ Cree tu mi hijo al hombre verdadero
y no quieras creer al hombre lisonjero
ca lo haze por arte y no como buen tercero
ca creer su verdad es coger agua en harnero.

b lisongero M' M' A. *c* con buen M' M' A. recelo A. *d* hornero M'.

88. ¶ Sobre todas las cosas te mando yo aquesta
hijo al escreuir ternas la mano presta
y aprender bien nadar y tirar con ballesta.
porque no digan de ti peor que de vna cesta

b escrebir M' M'; escriuir A. tendras A. *c* bien a nadar A. con la ballesta A.

49. Avnque tus amigos non se quieran membrar
Del bien e del seruiçio que tu les solies far,
Por esto de tu dios non quieras detestar,⁸⁸
Mas a los tus peccados as la culpa a echar. (I, 23.)
53. Non quieras tu palabras muy dulces despende
Como el paxarero que aues suel prender.
Quien engañoso es tal le deuen fazer ;⁸⁹
Deue el que engaña a otro engañado seer.⁹⁰ (I, 27.)
65. Ante piensa la cosa que te ha de venir
E miraras⁹¹ el daño ques te puede seguir,
Porque ligeramente della puedas salir.⁹²
Non digas ¡ quien pensara quem pudiera nuzir ! (II, 24.)
67. Si tienes muchos bienes, faz tu prouecho dellos.
Los bienes que as sey parco⁹³ a despendellos ;
Non seas comol caluo quando auie cabellos
Que los preciaua poco, despues quedo sin ellos. (II, 26.)
73. Sey sabio do deues e faz toda mesura,
Con locos faz locura e con cuerdos cordura.⁹⁴
Esfuerçat quanto puedas dauer esta natura,
Ado jugaren juega, ado burlaren burla. (II, 18.)
75. Crey tu, fijo mio, al hombre verdadero
E non quieras creer al hombre lisongero ;
Ca lo faze por arte e no como buen tercero ;
Quien crey su verdad agua coge en farnero.⁹⁵ (II, 20.)
88. Sobre todas las cosas te mando yo aquesta,
Fijo, al esgremir ternas la mano presta,
Aprende a nadar e tirar con ballesta
Que non digan de ti peor que duna cesta.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ On *detestar* *de*, see CUERVO, *Dicc.*, s. v. Perhaps not original. The Latin text suggests *acuser*. But there would have been no reason to change that.

⁸⁹ Cf. J. RUIZ 1466: engaña a quien te engaña, a quien te fay fayle. However, D. JUAN MANUEL, *Libro infanido* (Janer, p. 278b): proverbio antigo es que: Mas val ser home engañado, que non engañador.

⁹⁰ Cf. J. RUIZ 103: aquel es engañado quien coya que engaña.

⁹¹ Suspicious.

⁹² L. 3 may have to precede l. 2.

⁹³ *parco* might have been corrupted to *parca*, then

"corrected" to *para*. But, while *parcir* is known from Berceo, etc., I find no early instance of *parco*.

⁹⁴ Cf. J. RUIZ 729: con los cuerdos estar cuerdo, con los locos faserse loco.

⁹⁵ Cf. SANTILLANA, p. 505: Agua coge por farnero, quien cree de ligero. TORRES NAHARRO, *Propaladia*, Vol. II (1900), p. 171: Piensa segar en Enero Y pescar tras las paredes, Y sacar aire con redes, Y coger agua en harnero. PALAU, *Farsa llamada Salamantina*, 1900, p. 23, 533: Pues, hora quiero callar la triste vida de pupilo, que sera nunca acabar y sacar agua de Nilo con harnero.

⁹⁶ Cf. J. RUIZ 870: gestilla. Elsewhere and nowadays *ser uno un cesto* = *ser ignorante, rudo é incapaz*.

89. ¶ Quando te assentares a la mesa *y* quisieres comer
 primero te laua las manos *y* a dios *quieras* ofrecer
 la oracion suya ca esto te cumple hazer
y si otros fueren presentes deues lo assi hazer.

b offerer M¹ M² A. *c* tuya A. *d* no ternan *que* reprehender A.

98. ¶ Juega con el trompo en la tabla pintada
y sigue tu menester *y* auras vida pagada
 en hoto de tu fuerça no quieras hazer nada
 porque mas vale buen seso *que* no fuerça apoderada.

b abras M¹ M². *d* no] lacking in A.

104. ¶ Hijo si en tu presencia alguno te quiere alabar
 tu por su alabança no te quieras pujar
 si es en ti algo de aquello tu lo deues pensar
y no quieras del otro mas *que* de ti fiar.

a quisiere A. *d* de otro A.

109. ¶ Quando comieres hijo no te quieras mucho reyr
 ca se parece la vianda por la boca mucho abrir
y en el comer maxcando hase de encubrir
 otrosi sobre la mesa poco deues departir.

a Qando M¹ M². *b* parece M¹ M² A. *c* encobrir M¹ M².

120. ¶ Hijo a tu amigo con quien tuuiste amistad
 si te quiere tener saña / o mala voluntad
 no le hagas ningun daño por su deslealtad
 que pena tiene consigo en no guardar la verdad.

a a] lacking in A. *c* desleatad M². *d* tiene] lacking in M¹ M².

143. ¶ Hijo todo te lo he dicho quanto dezir queria
 entiende bien mis palabras *y* siguelas en toda tu vida
y en el coraçon auras gran mejoría
 hijo a Dios te encomiendo *y* a la virgen Maria.

a dezirte A. *b* entiende tu en mis palabras A. siguelas todas A. via M¹ M².
c abras M¹ M²; auran A.

89. Quando te assentares e quisieres comer,
 Primerot laua⁹⁷ manos e quieras offercer
 A Dios tu oracion; estot cumple fazer.
 No ternan los presentes en ti que reprehender.
98. Jugaras con el trompo en la tabla pintada.
 Sigue tu menester e vida auras pagada.
 En foto de tu fuerça non quieras fazer nada,
 Porque mas val buen seso que fuerça apoderada. (Prol. 36, ¶ 35, 48.)
104. Si en la tu presencia algunot⁹⁸ alabar,
 Tu por su alabança non te quieras pujar.⁹⁹
 Si as en ti daquello, tu lo deues pensar
 E non quieras del otro mas que de ti fiar.¹⁰⁰ (I, 14.)
109. Quando comieres, fijo, non te quieras rreyr;
 Parezze la vianda por la boca abrir
 E en el comer maxcando hase de encobrir.
 Otrosi deues poco a mesa departir.
120. Fijo, a tu amigo quel torneest¹⁰¹ amistad,
 Sit quiere tener saña o mala voluntad,
 Nol fagas ningun daño por su deslealtad;
 Que pena tien consigo en non guardar verdad. (IV, 41.)
143. Fijo, todo te he dicho quanto dezir quera.
 Entiende mis palabras, siguelas todavia
 E en el coraçon auras gran mejoría.
 A Dios te encomiendo e a Santa Maria.

⁹⁷ *Ante lauañ las* might be preferable.

⁹⁸ I would prefer *hombre te* or *algun te*, but am not sure about the latter.

⁹⁹ *pujar* (S. Oria 38: a los gielos pujaba, 50: Puyaba a los gielos, Alex. 1109: Yrá siempre poyando la tu buena ven-

tura) < *pōdiare and not < pūlsare (KÖRTING) nor < *pūlsiare (MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. I, § 483).

¹⁰⁰ More frequent is *fiar en alguno*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. CORNU, *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXI, p. 451.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CONCERNING *farie* BERCEO, *Alexandre* 2218§ 1. *farie* or *farié*?

Years ago Baist, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. IV, 1880, p. 586, taking the accentuation *havent* for granted, used the rhyme [*S. Oria* 148] *havian: bien*, the fact that in the *Misterio* *te* becomes *i*, and finally the rhymes *Alex.* 1144: *dixiemos: podiemos: aziemos: auyemos*, 1363: *aprisiemos: podriemos: diezmos: seriemos*, 1467: *prisiemos: feziemos: seruiemos: andar[i]emos*, 2126: *sabiemos: ueuiemos: au[i]emos: feziemos* in order to prove that the thirteenth century accentuated *bien* and in the perf. *dixiemos*, etc. Hanssen, *Sobre la Formacion del Imperfecto de la segunda i tercera Conjugacion castellana en las Poestas de Gonzalo de Berceo*, Santiago de Chile, 1894, not knowing of Baist's article and his corrections noted above, and taking the accentuation *bien* and in the perf. *dixiemos*, etc., for granted, has used the same rhymes (he has overlooked *Alex.* 1467, but adds *Libro de los Reyes de Oriente* (Janer, p. 319): *sabien: bien*) to prove that the accentuation of the Old Spanish impf. 2-6 was *ie*. From Baist's review of Hanssen's article (*Krit. Jahresber.*, Vol. IV, 1900, 1, p. 307) I extract the following: "Die Form [the *-ie*-impf.] ist zur Zeit der höfischen Dichter mit steigender Betonung gebräuchlich, wie Reime auf E zeigen; zunächst neben sie ist asp. *dues* f. *duas* zu stellen; bei Berceo haben Cornu und ich (vgl. ZRPh. IV 586) vor Jahren Erhaltung der sicher ursprünglichen Betonung *te* angenommen Dass die beiden *ie* [the other is *ie* < *e*] (ebenso wie *ue*) bei Berceo nur mit sich selbst reimen, nicht mit *e* und *a* + *i*, auch wenn diesem mouillierter Laut vorausgeht, daran ist nicht zu rütteln." The most recent contribution to the literature on the subject is Zauner, *Das Imperfectum II III im Altspanischen*, 1901, to whom neither of Baist's articles was known and who in spite of the fact that the *-ie*-impf. rhymes with perf. 4 and *ie* < *e* ("Reime, die für Hanssen's Theorie zu sprechen scheinen," p. 6—he, too, must therefore take the accentuation *ie* in the perf. and in *ie* < *e* for granted) tries to prove against Hanssen the accentuation *te* for the impf. 2-6.

As Baist refers for *ie* only to one instance of the fifteenth century, I may be allowed to offer some for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The arrangement is chronological.

- 1¹⁰³ Johán de Tapia (*Canc. Nieva*, p. 234): *podrien: bien*.¹⁰³
- 2 Diego del Castillo (Menéndez, *Antología*, Vol. II, p. 201): *presumiedes: redes*.¹⁰⁴
- 3 Hernán García de Madrid (*Canc. Rennert*, p. 126, 35): *tinié 3: fué*.
- 4 P. 126, 44: *quirié 3: fue: sé*.
- 5 Rouanet, *Autos*, Vol. I, p. 101, 127: *espantaries: es*.
- 6 P. 110, 410: *quirie 3: señale: pregunte*.
- 7 P. 184, 50: *serie 3: mande: que*.
- 8 P. 202, 46: *avie 3: dire*.
- 9 P. 263, 342: *cubrie 3: rrecorde: soñe*.
- 10 P. 341, 295: *serie 3: detene (= -ed): Joseph*.
- 11 P. 341, 308: *consintie 3: fee: Joseph*.

¹⁰³ HANSEN, *Notas á la Prosodia cast.*, p. 18, n. 1, quotes an earlier instance from VILLASANDINO (*Canc. Baena*, p. 139):

.Pues me conospedes,
.Non vos enogedes,
.Nin ya non teniedes
Por mí mas cuydado.

MICHEL, Vol. I, p. 136, reads *tenedes*. I believe the proper reading to be *tomedes* and cancel the example.

¹⁰⁴ He rhymes (p. 237) *desespere: bibiere*. It is hardly necessary to bring in any of the following cases proof that *ie* < *e* is as decisive as *e* for this period.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted by HANSEN, *Prosodia cast.*, p. 18, n. 1.

- 12 P. 360, 72: vinien: quien: bien.
 13 P. 363, 174: cobraries: Rrajes (çibdad de Rr.).
 14 P. 366, 247: quirries: ynteres: Rrajes.
 15 P. 372, 436: devien (= debian): tanbien.
 16 P. 390, 386: tenie 3: perteneçie 3: Manbre.
 17 P. 408, 10: defendie 3: fue: Jette.
 18 P. 504, 52: tinien: Jerusalem.
 19 P. 518, 501: vernien: Jerusalem: comerien.
 20 Vol. II, p. 35, 448: quirrie 3: dire: sacare.
 21 P. 81, 94: tinien: Moysen: bien.
 22 P. 130, 589: hariedes: merçedes: tiniedes.
 23 P. 253, 304: vinien: tanbien: tinien: den.
 24 P. 364, 256: dezien: Belen.
 25 P. 375, 19: sabie 3: fue.
 26 P. 527, 399: dezie 3: Jese: fe.
 27 Vol. III, p. 186, 178: encubrie 3: fee: merçe.
 28 P. 392, 336: haçiedes: merçedes.
 29 P. 440, 398: vien (= veian): Moysen.
 30 P. 538, 779: permitie 3: fue: procure.
 31 Luis Hurtado de Toledo, *Las Cortes de la Muerte* (Sancha, *Romanc. sagr.*, p. 41): dicié 3: esté: pensé.¹⁰⁶
 32 Joan Timoneda(?), *La Oveja perdida* (Pedroso, *Autos*, p. 78): solié 3: pié.
 33 P. 85: tenié 3: hué.
 34 Francisco de Ocaña (Böhl, *Floresta*, Vol. I, p. 18):¹⁰⁶

ponien: Belen.

hacien: Belen.

servien: Belen.

- 35 *Id.* (Salvá, *Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 143a):

tañien: bien: Betlen.

- 36 P. 143b: sé: ahé: fué: hallé: habia (l. habié 3): llevé: cabia (l. cabié 3): canté: presumia (l. presumié 3): re: comia (l. comié 3): podia (l. podié 3): dejé: almorzé.¹⁰⁷

The names Madrid, Toledo, Ocaña point to Castile.¹⁰⁸ It is safe to say that the "Autos" also belong to this region.¹⁰⁹ One may also confidently maintain that, inasmuch as the literary language since the fourteenth century had restored the *-ta*-forms,¹¹⁰ the *-ié*-forms of the fifteenth

¹⁰⁶ Cf. MOREL-FATIO, *Bull. hisp.*, Vol. II, p. 134.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted by DIEZ, *Gramm.*, p. 526 (= Vol. II, p. 170, n.).

¹⁰⁷ Arranged according to tenses, numbers, and persons:

IMPF.

- 1—
 2—
 3— 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 16, 17, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36.
 4—
 5— 2, 22, 28.
 6— 12, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24, 29, 34, 35.

COND.

- 1—
 2— 5, 13, 14.
 3— 7, 10, 20.
 4—
 5— 22.
 6— 1, 19.

We hardly expect to find instances for 1, but it is rather strange that there are none for 4.

¹⁰⁸ I do not wish to exclude by any means the accentuation *tenié* in other dialects. I am now mainly interested in such material as may help to solve the question as to *tenie* or *tenié* for the Castilian dialect (in its wider sense—the dialect of Castilla la Vieja and Castilla la Nueva).

¹⁰⁹ The editor does not express himself on this question except perhaps in the remark (Introduction, p. xii): "Le menu peuple de Babylone ou de Jérusalem, les valets, les bergers, etc., parlent et agissent comme pouvaient le faire ceux de Tolède ou de Valladolid."

¹¹⁰ Cf. GASSNER, § 530. GRÄFENBERG in his ed. of D. JUAN MANUEL, *El Libro del Cavallero et del Escudero* (written 1328) says (*Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. VII, p. 533): "Die Imperfekt-Endung *ie* ist hinter *ta* fast ganz zurückgetreten."

and sixteenth centuries belong to the popular language (they are, by the way, very well in their place in the "Autos"), i. e., they represent the Old Castilian dialect. From their frequency we may infer the frequency of such forms in the popular language of the fourteenth century.

Next in order, if we now go back, is:

José 87: bien: Sayen: yagien: verien.

The literary monuments of the fourteenth century present only one sure instance, and for the reason given above we should not expect many:

J. Ruiz 1309 (Janer 1283): fasien: desien: detyen: bien.

J. Ruiz rhymes:

ie: *e* — 59: dixiera: rrespondiera: era: feziera, 874: beserro: perro: fierro: çencerro, 929: vieja: conseja, etc.

ue: *e* — 28: buena: madalena: pena, 30: sesto: presto: puesto, 164: llena: buena: suena: pena, etc.

ie: *ue* — 301: confuerto: tuerto: gierto: muerto, 846: puertas: muer[t]as (MS. G): çiertas: abyertas.

e: *ie*: *ue* — 386: completas: prietas: puertas: encubiertas.

Now as to Berceo. Aside from the cases where the *ie*-impf. is found in rhyme with itself, it rhymes:¹¹¹

a) with *ie* of the perf.:

Alex. 1144: dixiemos: podiemos: aziemos: auyemos.

S. Oria 68: ganariemos: mereçiemos: çiçiemos: quisiemos.

[*F. Gonz.* 677: viemos: sabyemos: podieramos (l. podriemos)]

β) with *ie* < *e*:

Alex. 1363: aprisiemos: podriemos: diezmos: seriemos.

S. Oria 148: sedien: entendien: havien: bien.

[*Libro de los Reyes de Oriente* (Janer, p. 319): sabien: bien]

γ) with *e*:

Alex. 2126: sabiemos: ueuiemos (l. viniemos)¹¹²; auemos: feziemos (l. fiziemos).¹¹³

¹¹¹ *Alex.* 1467 and 2123 may be neglected. The former reads in *JANER*:

Se ocasion nos uieno tal qual prisiemos,
Non nos pararon tales por mal que feziemos,
Se non por nuestro rey a que todos seruiemos,
Por lo qual ante todos sin uerguença andaremos.

The Parisian MS. (the variants of which as well for this copla as for coplas 2123, 2126 I owe to the kindness of Morel-Fatio) reads:

Si ocasion nos vino o ocasion presiemos
Non nos pararon tales por que mal meresciesmos
Nin nos pararon tales por mal que fiziesmos
Si non por que al rey nuestro Señor seruiemos.

JANER seems after all preferable.

Alex. 2123 reads in *JANER*:

Fazedes grant derecho se de mi uos temedes
Per algun achaque que perder podriedes:
Mas yo en mi non tengo el cor que uos tenedes,
Otro esforgio tengo el que uos non sabedes.

The Parisian MS.:

Feches grant derecha demi vos temedes
Por algund mal achaque que me perderedes
Mas en mi non tengo el cuer que vos tenedes
Otro esfuerpo traygo el que uos non sabedes.

I should prefer *JANER*'s reading (except for *cor*, etc.).

BAIST (*Zeitschr.*, Vol. IV, p. 589) proposes for *Alex.* 1467 *andar[i]emos*. "Der Copist hatte vergessen, warum hier der Conditionalis am Platz ist." For this reason *BAIST* should have left the cond. in *Alex.* 2123 and not have proposed (*Zeitschr.*, Vol. IV, p. 589): "l. etwa Que per algun achaque uos perderme podedes oder podredes." Cf. German *könntet* — *könnt* — *werdet können* in this case.

¹¹² Thus reads the Parisian MS. *BAIST*'s correction (*Zeitschr.*, Vol. IV, p. 589) *ueniemos* is, therefore, confirmed, while his other correction (l. c.) *ae[i]emos* is not.

The last example alone¹¹³ would decide the question as to *ie* or *is* in favor of *is* (of whatever origin — monosyllabic *ie*, of course). From *sabiémos* (*is* in penultimate) one would also be justified in inferring *sabiédes*, from *sabién* (*is* in final syllable) *sabiés*, *sabié* 3.

But the rhyming of *ie* and *e*, as well as *ue* and *e*, has been denied for Berceo. It will, therefore, be necessary to look for more evidence to the effect that Berceo rhymed both *ie* (of whatever origin) and *ue* with *e*, perhaps also *ie* with *ue*, and that he therefore accentuated *is* and *ué*. Here it is:

Alex. 171: *renda*¹¹⁴ (<rendat): *encomienda*: *fazienda*: *defienda*.

Alex. 734: *recreente* (l. *recreyente*):¹¹⁵ *alta-miente*: *Omnipotente*: *yente*.

Alex. 1121: *manner*: *carrera*: *era*: *perdiera*.¹¹⁶

Alex. 2254: *fiel* (<fel): *miel*: *piel*: *Miguel* (l. *Migael*).¹¹⁷

Loor. 31: *ori|ente*: *creyente*: *omnipotente*: *presente*.

Milagr. 668: *quiero*:¹¹⁸ *sendero*: *verdadero*: *çellero*.

Alex. 2064: *fazedera*: *fuera*: *muera*: *guerrera*.

Alex. 1222: *cierto*: *abierto*: *huerto*: *muerto*.¹¹⁹

¹¹³These are few rhymes, it is true; two that make the accentuation *is* highly probable (for neither the diphthongization nor the shifting of the accent date from Berceo's time), one that makes the accentuation *is* sure. ZAUNER (p. 7) asks: "Wie kommt es denn, dass Reime der Impf.-Endungen mit dem Diphthongen *ie* (lat. off. *e*) gar so selten sind?" How is it, then, that he has not a single rhyme to show in favor of *ie*? I have counted the rhyme-words in *-ien* in RENGIFO. They are *bien*, *rebien*, *parabien*, *tambien*, *alguien*, *quien*, *ninguien*, *cien*, *recien*. Without going into detail, I may say that the only chance Berceo had to rhyme his impf. (6) with *ie* < *e* was *bien*. Now Berceo knows *criar*, *enblar*, *flar*, *guiar*. He could have rhymed *tenies*: *cries*, etc., *tenie*: *crie*, etc., *tenien*: *crien*, etc., also *tenies*: *ries*, etc. Over against the one chance in *bien*, he had here fifteen. He has not used one. The lack of such rhymes is eloquent enough.

In this connection I would take up two other objections of Zauner to the *is*-theory.

For want of *ie*-rhymes, he gives us two pages of *ia*-rhymes and assonances and concludes (p. 6): "Aus den hier gesammelten Reimen und Assonanzen geht wohl hervor, dass im Altsp. so wie im Neusp. das *i* der Impf.-Endung den Ton trug, nicht das *e*." With the same right Zauner might have inferred from dissyllabic *ia* dissyllabic *ie*, which would be entirely wrong.

Finally, ZAUNER (p. 7) states that phonetically it is absolutely impossible to connect Mod. Spanish *ia* (2-6) with Old Spanish *is* (2-6). But with *ia* 1 and *ia* 3 in Berceo (for the latter form belongs as much to the paradigm of the impf. II III in Berceo as *is* 3, cf. §2) a sufficient basis, one might think, is given for the reconstruction of the other *ia*-forms by analogy. *tan* 6 would naturally follow *ia* 3 very soon, so also *tas* 2; *tamos* 4, *tades* 5 would come latest. Also the idea of import is not to be excluded. The explanation of the fact can only be given after we know more about the formative elements of the literary language.

¹¹⁴It is easy to change *renda* to *rienda*, and one may refer to *S. Dom.* 757: *Riendo gracias a Dios*, *Alex.* 397: *Si la duenna non riendes*, *S. Oria* 177: *Commo qui riende gracias* (but *Sacr.* 44 *rinde*) and perhaps other similar cases. They prove nothing. But until it is clearly shown how far

Castilian and Leonese go together it is wrong to introduce into a Castilian text forms that, like *rienda*, belong especially to Leonese. Until then I shall believe that the *rienda* which Berceo uses in rhyme (cf. *S. Dom.* 242, *Sacr.* 83, *Milagr.* 705, *S. Oria* 15) and elsewhere, is *retina*, and not *rendat* nor *rendita*. That, finally, anyone will think of changing *encomienda*, etc., to *e*-forms, I do not suppose.

¹¹⁵If one does not allow this change, one will have to admit *Alex.* 312, 781: *leenda*: *fazienda*, 529: *feriendo*: *fuyendo*: *rilendo*.

¹¹⁶The text of Berceo reads *S. Dom.* 227: *escriberon: -ieron*, 531 *deronle* (Var. Lect. *dieronle*). Could not Berceo have written *perdera*? But how about *Alex.* 102: *fiero*: *presiero*: *oviero*: *soviero* (CORNU, *Romanta*, Vol. IX, p. 92), 362, 521 (CORNU, l. c., p. 93), 924, 1196, *S. Dom.* 323, *Duelo* 22, etc.?

¹¹⁷Cf. *S. Dom.* 683: *Yo so San Migael*, *Milagr.* 317: (Sant) *Migael de la Tumba*, 434: *De Sant Miguel* (l. *Migael*) *era*, 445: *E. por Sant Miguel* (l. *Migael*).

¹¹⁸Berceo did not write *quero*, cf. *Milagr.* 248: *quiero*: *fiero*: *podiero*: *sopiero*; nor *queres*, cf. *S. Lawr.* 81: *creyeres*: *regibieres*: *figieres*: *quieres*, *Milagr.* 723, *S. Oria* 125; nor *quere*, cf. *Alex.* 924: *quier*: *ferier*: *trozier*: *ferier*; nor *quera*, cf. *S. Dom.* 323: *quiera*: *fiera*: *vallera*: *toviera*.

¹¹⁹The copla reads:

La as que ál guyana guyanala en cierto,
Cuemo sierpe raniosa andana boca abierto,
Cuenta este non ualen las yeruas del mal huerto,
Al que topaua biuo haziele quedar muerto.

BAIST (*Zeitschr.*, Vol. IV, p. 588) observes: "Dieser Fehler entstand aus der scharfsinnigen Erwägung eines Copisten, dass Kräuter in einem Garten wachsen, und Zauberkräuter in einem bösen Garten; doch errathe ich nicht, was an Stelle von *del mal huerto* gestanden haben kann. *muerto* Corr. *yerto*." In my opinion, the sagacious consideration fits exactly the characteristic account BAIST has given us of the author in GROBE's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 403. RENGIFO suggests no word in *-ierto* that could take the place of *huerto*; *yerto* is possible, but *muerto* better in contrast to *biuo*.

In fact Berceo rhymed more frequently *ie* with *e* than the text as we have it now would make us believe. We read:

Sacr. 104: offrenda: compreenda: renda (<rendita): defenda (Var. Lect. defienda).

Milagr. 373: ofrenda: prenda: defenda: renda (<rendita).

On the other hand:

Alex. 50: fazienda: emienda: renta (<rendita):¹²⁰ defienda.

Alex. 61: fazienda: contienda: defienda: emienda.

S. Dom. 375: façienda: leyenda: defienda: contienda.

S. Dom. 774: defienda: ençienda: comienda: contienda.

Sacr. 102: defienda: contienda: ençienda: façienda.

Loor. 90: contiende: entiende: defiende: piende.

I reject the idea that the poet, merely to please the eye of the reader, would have written twice *defenda* and six times *defienda*. To change all the *e*-rhymes to *ie* would be as impossible as to change all the *ie*-rhymes to *e*. I propose, therefore, to read in *Sacr.* 104 and *Milagr.* 373 *defienda*, which is and was the Castilian form.

According to the text, Berceo would have written *-mente* (<*-mente*), *-miente*, *-ment*, *-mient*, once in the same copla *-mente* and *-miente*, and in another copla *-ment* and *-mient*. We have:

1. a) *-mente*: *e*:

Alex. 256: ori|ente: Omnipotente: occidente: ygual-ment(r)e.

β) *-mient*: *e*:

S. Mill. 90: obedi|ent: de buena mient: omnipotent: ori|ent.

2. a) *-ment*: *ie*: *e*:

S. Mill. 290: denodadament: yent: present: desobedi|ent.

β) *-miente*: *ie*: *e*:

Alex. 734: recreente (l. recreyente): alta-miente: Omnipotente: yente.

Alex. 895: contenente: yente: uera-miente: Ori|ente.

Alex. 1244: ori|ente: punniente: reziente: de buena miente.

γ) *-ment*, *-mient*: *ie*: *e*.

S. Dom. 392: firme-mient: omnipotent: aturadament: gent (l. yent).

3. *-miente*: *ie*.

Alex. 513: ligera-mient[r]: siempre: uientre.

Alex. 2250: ardiente: ygual-mient(r): caliente: siente (Baist, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. IV, p. 589).

Milagr. 242: fea-miente: dura-miente: vientre: fuert-miente.

While final *e* of *-miente* is needed in the cases just-mentioned because the word stands in rhyme or assonance with words that require final *e*, it is not needed and has been dropped in the following example:

S. Dom. 565: ixient: yent: de bona (l. buena) mient: vidient.

Final *e*, though not needed, appears in

Alex. 836: feruiente: gente (l. yente): caliente: fiera-miente.

Alex. 2406: ualiente: yente: auiltada-miente: coçiiente.

Inasmuch as both the full form (see above) and the apocopated form (see below) are assured by rhyme or assonance, I have made no changes for the present.

We have, then, over against one rhyme in favor of *-mente* (1. a) five rhymes in favor of *-miente* (3), and I need not hesitate to restore in *Alex.* 256 *-miente*, which was a Castilian form, though it is so no more.

¹²⁰This I consider the form which Berceo used; cf. also *Siete Partidas*, Vol. III, pp. 219, 221, 229, 231. I would restore it in *S. Dom.* 141: emprendas (l. ende prenda, Var. Lect.): *rendas*: *vendas*: *offendas*, *S. Mill.* 370: *prenda*: *renda*: † *sorrenda*: *ofrenda*.

With regard to the remaining *-ment*-forms (*S. Mill.* 290, *S. Dom.* 392), the question may be raised whether the author did not use *-miente* (full form), but *-ment* (apocopated form). This question seems to receive further strength from the rhymes *S. Dom.* 364, etc., given below. But, aside from other reasons, I find no decisive evidence (nor is any to be expected) that the poet treated in rhyme (with him, a strong tonic position)¹²¹ the tonic vowel of an apocopated form differently from the full form. I do not hesitate to read *-mient* in *S. Mill.* 290 and *S. Dom.* 392.

In a number of cases *L. -mente* occurs in rhyme with *L. -entu, -mentu*:

a) Apocopated forms:

- S. Dom.* 364: argent: solament: present: omnipotent.
Sacr. 219: obedi|ent: de buena ment: falliment: omnipotent.
Milagr. 1: omnipotent: consiment: aveniment: verament.
Milagr. 699: piment: maravillosament: falliment: escarniment.

To avoid "concomitancias," the poet had no other way than the above. Nevertheless there are:

ß) full forms, but only in the *Alex.*, all, however, in *-e*:

- Alex.* 1173: ueramente: ygualmiente: fallimente: luenga mente.
Alex. 1297: primera-miente: yente: sacramente: cosimente.

The question whether in these two cases the *-e* (I consider it the well-known paragogic *-e*; cf. Menéndez Pidal, *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, p. 418) should be tolerated may easily be answered in the negative.¹²²

The second question—as to *solament*, etc., or *solamient*, etc.—I would, after what has been said above, decide in favor of *solamient*.

Of the above nouns in *-ent, -ment* the following occur again in rhyme:

- Alex.* 1225: parient(e): yent(e): sergent(e): argent(e).¹²³
S. Mill. 3: ori|ent: Lorent: present: falliment.
Alex. 1757: ori|ent(e): occident(e): cosiment(e): ençi|ent(e).
Alex. 1786: gente (l. yent): cosiment(e): Omnipotent(e): present(e).
S. Dom. 271: Vicent: gent: omnipotent: cosiment.
Milagr. 365: cosiment: talent: gent: omnipotent.
Alex. 146: taliento: giento: mandamiento: fallimiento.
Milagr. 105: enterramiento: conviento: entendimiento: fallimiento.
Alex. 771: pimienta: sangrienta: retienta: sienta.
S. Dom. 211: ministramiento: sacramiento: complimiento: conviento.
Sacr. 5: departimiento: mandamiento: sacramiento: viento.
Loor. 57: testamento: sacramiento (l. sacramiento): remembramiento: mandamiento.

It may be asked whether the poet did not write *-miento* (full form), but *-ment* (apocopated form), but, for the reason given above, I shall have to refuse to accept such an idea. The question can only be in regard to *-ment, -mento* or *-mient, -miento*.

As to what *L. -mente* became in Spanish, the authorities are better agreed than as to *L. -entu, -mentu, -menta* (Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, Vol. I, §180; Baist, *Krit. Jahresber.*, Vol. I, p.

¹²¹ *-ment* (or *-mente*), however, in atonic position, i. e., within the hemistich and followed by an adj. or part., could be justified. *-ment* by the side of *-mient* is very early and very frequent. Could the different treatment not have originated in the different position?

¹²² As far as BERCEO is concerned, *falliments, sacraments, cosiments* are unauthorized forms. Where, in BERCEO and the *P. Cid*, the last of the above-mentioned nouns

appears within the hemistich, it reads and must read *cosiment*, cf. *Alex.* 1406, 1616, *S. Dom.* 356, *P. Cid* (MENÉNDEZ PIDAL) 1436. In *Loor.* 193: En consimiento del malo . . . we have to read *consiment*, in *P. Cid* 2743: que sin cosimente son . . . we may read *since cosiment*.

¹²³ As to changing the full forms to apocopated forms, I refer to *S. Dom.* 364 and *Milagr.* 1, though other reasons are not wanting.

538). In my opinion the case is about the same: *i. e.*, *-iento* generally in Old Castilian,¹²⁴ *-ento* generally in Modern Castilian. In Berceo we have over against one rhyme in *-ento* (*Alex.* 40: argumento: elemento: fundamento: accento) nine rhymes in *-iento* in the *Alex.* (11, 146, 771 (*-ienta*), 865, 881, 1061, 1103, 1789 (*-ientos*), 1819 (*-ientos*), and thirty-three in the other poems (Hanssen, *Sobre la Pronunciación del Diptongo ie en la Época de Gonzalo de Berceo*, p. 4). *Conviento*, *taliento*, to mention only two words that the modern language treats as learned, occur, the first nine times, the second eleven times, in rhyme with *cimiento*, *tiento*, *viento*, *çiento*, *tiempo*, *miento*, *i. e.*, with unobjectionable *ie*. No doubt the one or the other word, such, *e. g.*, as *testamento*, will have to be eliminated from the list. With regard to *falliment*, *aveniment*, *piment*, *escarniment*, *sagrament* I feel justified in proposing the reading *fallimient*, *avenimient*, *pimient*, *escarnimient*, *sagramient*.

Finally, if I am entirely wrong in my opinion about *-miente*, which was and is still Asturian and was Leonese, and if something similar should be proved for *-miento*, and it should appear that both *-miente* and *-miento* do not belong to Berceo, what about the rhymes given above under 2 and 3 and *Alex.* 1297, and what about the rhymes *Alex.* 11, 146, 771, etc.?

§ 2. *farié* and *faria* 3

In connection with the preceding, a note on the double form of the impf. 3 II III in Berceo may not be amiss.

I accept the statement of Suchier (Hanssen, *Ueber d. altspan. Präterita vom Typus ove, pude*, 1898, p. 61): "*-ta* [blieb] nur im Auslaut, [wurde] dagegen im Inlaut stets zu *ié*. Also strengphonetisch Sg. *via*, Pl. **viés*,"¹²⁵ with this modification, that instead of *ié* I would say "*te, later ié*;" instead of **viés*, "**vies*, later **viés*." We have, then:

<i>ia</i>	
<i>ias</i>	> <i>ies</i>
<i>iat</i>	> <i>iet</i>
<i>iamos</i>	> <i>femos</i>
<i>iades</i>	> <i>fedes</i>
<i>ian</i>	> <i>fen</i>

When *-t* had fallen, there could by the side of *-te* easily develop an *-ta*, a phenomenon which has occurred at different times and in different places: *die(m)* > *dia*; *pte* (< *pede*) > *pta* Old Castilian (*Fuero de Sepúlveda*, 1857, Glos.), Old Leonese, Mod. Western Asturian (Munthe, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XV, p. 230); *det*, *stet* > *dte(t)*, *estte(t)* > *dta*, *estta* Old Leonese, Old Asturian, Mod. South Western Asturian, Mod. Galician, Mod. Bercian (Munthe, p. 229); *est* > *te(st)* > *ta*, *ya* Old Leonese, *yta* Mod. Western Asturian (Munthe, p. 230); *et* > *te*, *hie* Old Leonese, Old Asturian, *ya* Mod. Western Asturian (Munthe, *loc. cit.*). But whether an Old Castilian form or an import, *-ta* 3 belongs to Berceo, as will be shown below.

In the further development of the tense, the dialects of the West and those of the Middle separated. The latter shifted the accent to the second vowel, the former either reduced *te* to *i* or developed it to *ta*. Hence on the one hand such forms as *S. Dom.* 85 *avini* 3 (Var. Lect. *avinie*),

¹²⁴ With special exception of course as to words of foreign origin, such as *cosiment*. For this Prov. or French word, by the way, FITZ-GERALD (*Rev. hisp.*, Vol. VI, p. 253) gives as etymon *causimentum*, *i. e.*, the latinization of probably Prov. *causimen*!

¹²⁵ Why not, *e. g.*, *mia* — *mies* which are attested? Only from *mies*, *tíes*, *vies* (proclitic) can we come to *mie* fem. pl., etc., (whence perhaps *mí*, fem. sg.). *Míes*, etc., would have

given *mes*. Only *ses* is attested, once (*Fuero de Avilés* 87 *ses* parentes) undoubtedly wrong, the other time (*Dies Mandamientos*, *Rom.*, Vol. XVI, p. 380 *se* madre) very likely so. The *Dies Mandamientos* offer besides p. 380 *sa* paraula; p. 381 *sa* muller; p. 382 *su* hermana. If right at all, *se* may be of foreign origin. The language of the *Dies Mandamientos* is Aragonese-Navarrese.

337 *mordt* 3 (Var. Lect. *mordia*), *Milagr.* 265 *tent* 3, *Alex.* 1007 *aut* 3¹²⁶, which, I have no doubt, belong to the *-iron*-scribe, a Leonese (Cornu, *Rom.*, Vol. IX, p. 93), and on the other hand the statement of Hanssen, *Estudios sobre la Conjugacion leonesa*, p. 14: "Parece que se usaban mas las terminaciones *ias*, *ia*, *ian* que *ies*, *ie*, *ien*, pero prevalecian *iemos* i *iedes*." Further, Old Leonese *pias* (Cast. *pies*) (Munthe, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XV, p. 230) may be compared. The Mod. Asturian dialect shows *i* in final syllable before consonant, *ia* when directly final and in penultimate: *tenta*, *tenis*, *tenta*, *tentamos*, *tenis*, *tenin*. For Berceo, then, the paradigm would be:

tenía
teniés
tenía tenié
teniémos
teniédés
tenién.

1. *ie* and *ia* (unless otherwise stated, the third person of the sing. of the impf. II III is meant) are met with in rhyme (tonic position), but only *ia* is assured by such rhymes as

S. Mill. 187: *romeria*: *ermitannia*: *vivia*: *Maria*.

Loor. 8: *Isaya*: *saldria*: *levantaria*: *posaria*.

Alex. 169: *memoria* (l. *mejoria*): *auia*: *dia*: *daria* 1.

Alex. 549: *grandia*: *podia*: *estorcía*: *parecía*.

Alex. 2214: *glotonia*: *uillania*: *compannia*: *uyuria*.

In direct contrast to Hanssen, *Imperfecto de Berceo*, p. 23, I therefore believe that *ia* was the form used by the poet in rhyme; that *ie* in rhyme is due to a scribe, and has to be replaced by *ia*.

2. Let us grant that the *cæsura* is already in Berceo not so strong a pause as the end of the verse. He admits in *cæsura* enclisis of the definite article on the one hand; places, on the other hand, the *cæsura* between substantive and adjective, etc. These cases are, after all, the exception, and he is very far from taking such extreme liberties as does, e. g., the author of the *Rimado de Palacio*. If *ia* is the form he uses in rhyme (tonic position), we may *a priori* expect him to use the same form in *cæsura* (tonic position).

Hanssen, pp. 20, 21, enumerates seventy cases in which *ia* appears in hemistichs that are metrically correct.¹²⁷ Two cases are to be deducted (*Milagr.* 827 and *S. Oria* 72) because *ia* belongs to the first person. *ia* is then found thirty-six times in rhyme, twenty-two times in *cæsura*, and ten times within the hemistich (in atonic position). I am willing to deduct from the twenty-two cases in *cæsura* seven cases where *ia* occurs in *Loores* (14, 64, 115) and *S. Oria* (31, 42, 147, 162), i. e., texts where, according to Hanssen, p. 21, "los copistas han reemplazado casi siempre las formas terminadas en *ié* por las que terminan en *ia*." I am even willing to make no deduction from the total number (sixty-eight), neither the fifteen cases where *ia* in rhyme is found in *Loores* (incl. of the sure rhyme *Loor.* 8), nor the ten cases where *ia* appears within the hemistich—wrongly, as I hope to show. Suppose then, we have among sixty-eight *ia*-forms fifteen cases of *ia* in *cæsura*.

¹²⁶ To the forms known (as those given above and *P. Cid* 1840 *sey* 3, *Poème d'Amour* 156 (*Rom.*, Vol. XVI, p. 373) *tray* 3), I would add *Poème d'Amour* 155 *avi* 3, *Disputa* 11 *fari* 3, and TORRES NABARRO, *Propaladia*, Vol. I, p. 230 *habí* 3: *mí*.

Putting aside the last quotation, the discussion of which would lead too far, I see no reason to separate *avini* from *avinie* (any more than *viron* from *vieron*) and to connect it with *avinda* as HANSEN, *Miscelánea*, § 5, proposes. I object to the latter idea for these reasons: First, because among the atonic vowels *a* is the most stable. In marked contrast to *e*, loss of *a* is extremely rare by apocope (and

perhaps not all the cases mentioned by BAIST in GRÖBER'S *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 699, need be explained by "satsphonetik"—I think of the class *buen(a)*, *mal(a)*, *primer(a)*, etc.); loss of *a* by syncope and enclisis is not known. Second, because the scribe in all probability found (cf. my discussion below) *ie* in the text. The variant *mordia* (trisyllabic) is wrong. The text read and must read also in this case dissyllabic *mordie*.

¹²⁷ This is not the case in *Milagr.* 516: *Non avia alguna eecusa* (cf. 3). I suppose, however, that Hanssen silently cancelled *alguna*.

Out of 1,324 cases (Hanssen, pp. 11-18) in which *ie* occurs in hemistichs that are metrically correct,¹²⁸ I have examined 200.¹²⁹ Only eleven times is *ie* found in tonic position, eight times in rhyme (of course, with itself), three times (*S. Dom.* 422, 739, *Duelo* 60) in *cæsura*.

To come to a conclusion about the form the poet used in *cæsura*, *ia* is met with in fifteen out of sixty-eight *ia*-forms (in reality in 22 out of 43 forms) and *ie* in 8 out of 200 *ie*-forms. Is it too much to say that *ia* was the form and that *ie* in the latter three cases is to be replaced by *ia*?

8. There remains the question as to the form used by Berceo within the hemistich (in atonic position). Judging from the examination of the 200 *ie*-forms (*cf.* 2), which resulted in the finding of 11 *ie*-forms in tonic position (rhyme or *cæsura*), there may be among the 1,324 metrically correct *ie*-forms about 80 (strictly speaking, only 72) that stand either in rhyme or *cæsura*, and for that reason have to be replaced by *ia* and to be deducted. Twenty more (strictly speaking, only 13) may be deducted as errors on the part of Hanssen. In 1,224 cases, then, *ie* would remain as the form used in atonic position.

Out of 243 *ia*-forms (Hanssen, pp. 18-20) in hemistichs that have one syllable too many, I have examined the first 100. In all these cases *ia* is in atonic position. In all these cases the change from dissyllabic *ia* to monosyllabic *ie* is preferable to any other change, both because a mechanically modernizing scribe was most likely to make here a mistake—in fact, more than half of the 243 forms occur in *Loores*, *Signos*, and *S. Oria*—and because for us the correction is the easiest. The above-mentioned change recommends itself also in such cases as are metrically correct (though not in Hanssen's opinion), *e. g.*,

S. Dom. 742: Alcanzaria a todos

Sacr. 278: partia al derredor

Duelo 155: Ioseph la avia ante,

in view of what has been said already about atonic *ie* and what will conclude this paragraph.

Over against more than 1,000 atonic *ie*-forms (rather 1,224 + 243, *i. e.*, almost 1,500) in metrically correct hemistichs, we have finally (*cf.* 2) 10 atonic *ia*-forms in metrically correct hemistichs. It is impossible to believe that the poet used the latter forms. The cases are:

1. *S. Dom.* 369: Fáciase él mismo dello maravillado.
2. *Sacr.* 210: Si non fuesse nascido, él non perdria nada.
3. *Loor.* 23: (El) su poder non a fin, nin seria cantado.
4. *Loor.* 145: Nin cativo nin siervo seria apremiado.
5. *Loor.* 191: Non seria asmado quantas son sus noblezas.
6. *Milagr.* 513: Ca sabia que otro dia seria porfazada.
7. *Milagr.* 516: Non avia alguna escusa a la cosa probada.
8. *Milagr.* 569: Quien esto dubdase, faria bavequia.
9. *S. Oria* 18: Placia su servicio a Dios nuestro sennor.
10. *S. Oria* 155: El fruto de los arboles non seria preñado.

One half of the cases are from *Loores* and *S. Oria*, and the very argument which I have elsewhere admitted as against me (*cf.* 2), I might now use in my favor and simply disregard these cases. I shall not do so, but propose to read:

1. Faciese elli mismo, *or* Faciese el cativo (*cf.* *S. Mill.* 22: Faziese el maestro mismo maravillado), *or* Estábase el mismo (*cf.* *S. Mill.* 125: Estábase la yente toda maravillada).

¹²⁸ This is not the case in *S. Dom.* 337: Iohan avie nomne (l. nomne avia or Avie nomne Iohan) nor in *S. Laur.* 82: Yo fecho avrie | esso de muy buen grado (l. Fecho avria yo). The latter example moreover does not belong among the instances for the third person.

¹²⁹ Acogie (p. 11) — avie *S. Mill.* 465 (p. 12) and avrie (p. 12) — complie (p. 12).

2. elli non perdrie nada, or 6l non perdrie y nada (cf. *Milagr.* 383: non ganaron y nada; *S. Oria* 74: Io ganaré y mucho).
3. nin serie bien(?) cantado.
4. Non serie apremiado (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.*, Vol. III, § 696), or Nin cativo seria nin siervo apremiado.
5. Nunqua serie asmado (cf. *Milagr.* 316: La su misericordia nunqua serie asmada), or Asmado non seria.
6. Ca sabie otro dia serie mal porfazada (cf. *Milagr.* 564: fuera mal porfazada).
7. Non avie escusa alguna.
8. Quien aquesto dubdase, farie gran havequia, or havequia faria.
9. Plaçie el su serviçio, or Plaçie con su serviçio, or Plaçiele su serviçio.
10. non serie apreçiado (cf. *Milagr.* 468: non serie apreçiado).

APPENDIX II

Supiendo MARTIN GARCIA, *Caton* 36¹⁰⁰

Of gerunds formed from the strong perfect-stem Garcia's *Caton* offers once more *supiendo* 1400 and besides *tuviendo* 1335, *quisiendo* 1585. The following list of such gerunds, mostly from the east and north,¹⁰¹ may not be amiss:

subbiyându José 250 (Janer 261 *supiendo*); *sopiendo* Fuero general de Navarra (1869), pp. 41, 44, Brutails, *Documents*, p. 117 (document from Pamplona, 1365); *supiendo* Mugica, *Dialectos castellanos*, Vol. I, p. 9, § 19 (dialect of Santander).

tubiyându José 77 (Janer 88 *toviendo*); *toviendo* Fuero de Navarra, p. 104, Muñoz y Rivero, *Manual de Paleografía*,² p. 437 (document from Aguilar, 1474); *tuviendo* Mugica, p. 79, § 20 (Aragon).

quisiendo Mugica, p. 9, § 19 (Santander), p. 79, § 20 (Aragon).

ubiyându José 76 (Janer 87 *habiendo*); *oviendo* Rim. Pal. 1107, Fuero de Navarra, pp. 3, 10, 20, 23, 33, and thus, as it seems, exclusively; *hubiendo* Mugica, p. 9, § 19 (Santander).

soviendo Fuero de Navarra, pp. 10, 15, 126.

dijendo Mugica, p. 9, § 19 (Santander).

hiciendo Mugica, p. 9, § 19 (Santander), p. 79, § 20 (Aragon).

pusiendo, Mugica, p. 79, § 20 (Aragon).

Nor is the past participle, formed from the strong perfect-stem, rare:

kâsidu José 89 (Janer 100 *querido*); *quesido* Morea, p. 87, Juan de Valdés, *Didlogo de la Lengua* (1895), p. 374, 26, Farsa llamada Ardamisa, réimpression p. p. Rouanet, p. 31, 687.

tovido España sagr., Vol. XXXVI, p. 235 (text from Leon, 1267); *tubidu* José 124 (Janer?); *touido* S. Juan de la Peña, p. 120; *tuvido* Morel-Fatio ("Le Débat entre Anton de Moros et Gonzalo Davila"), *Romania*, Vol. XXX, p. 52, 17; *touida* Morel-Fatio ("Souhaits de Bienvenue, adressés à Ferdinand le Catholique par un Poète barcelonais, en 1473"), *Romania*, Vol. XI, p. 354, 157; *tuvido* Mugica, p. 45, § 18 (Biscay).

supido Morea, pp. 16, 44, 50, 53, 63, etc., (once *sapido* p. 136), Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, Vol. XI, p. 354, n. 157.

houido Morea, p. 34; *huuido* Morea, p. 121; *hubto* Mugica, p. 9, § 19 (Santander).

pusido Mugica, p. 45, § 18 (Biscay).

¹⁰⁰ Too late to make any use of them in the text, come the following references: BAIST in his ed. of D. JUAN MANUEL, *El Libro dela Casa*, p. 188; BAIST, *Krit. Jahresber.*, Vol. IV, 1, p. 301 and p. 316.

¹⁰¹ Part of the material is taken from Gassner, §§ 168, 461, 472; 358, 360, 363, 392, 396, 397. As for José, Gassner transcribes from Morf's edition; neither this one nor that by Schmits is accessible to me.

On the other hand Garcia's *Caton* offers, instead of the expected strong perfect-forms, weak ones: *daron* 80, 1276, 1702, *dizieron* 783. A few more instances may not be unwelcome:

dasse Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, Vol. XXX, p. 57, 110.

ande (MS. G *andit*) Juan Ruiz 985 (Janer 959); *andó* Maria Egipcíaca 370, Morea, pp. 13, 44; *andaron* Alex. 1605, *andarun* José 41 (Janer 52 *andaron*), *andaron* Morea, p. 41.

dizieron S. Juan de la Peña, p. 137.

tiníó Fuero Juzgo, p. 169; *tenieron* S. Juan de la Peña, p. 76; *tinieron* p. 198; *retinieron* p. 138.

yació Fern. Gonz. 155.

plació Fern. Gonz. 720, *plasió* (: *dió*) Rim. Pal. 886, *bbalaziyu* José 26 (Janer 37 *plació*); *plazió* Morea, pp. 26, 44, 92, 108, etc.; *desplazió* p. 137; *plaziese* pp. 6, 7, 9, 11, 81, etc.

auieron Morea, pp. 19, 58, 92, 156, S. Juan de la Peña, pp. 60, 90, 143, etc.; *auieses* Morea, p. 58; *auiesse* p. 59; *auieseen* p. 96.

sabiesse Morea, p. 85.

Finally, instead of *hecho* I have found once *hazido* (: *cometido*) Rouanet, *Autos*, Vol. III, p. 389, 244. Perhaps also *vido* (: *partido*) Rouanet, *Autos*, Vol. I, p. 183, 36, p. 202, 57 (: *perdido*), p. 243, 464 (: *parido*), etc., is to be counted here.

**THE ESPURGATOIRE SAINT PATRIZ OF MARIE
DE FRANCE**

THE ESPURGATOIRE SAINT PATRIZ OF MARIE DE FRANCE, WITH A TEXT OF THE LATIN ORIGINAL

T. ATKINSON JENKINS

THE unique manuscript of the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz* of Marie de France is preserved in the National Library at Paris. This manuscript is not older than the close of the thirteenth century; it presents a text which is defective in many respects. Judging from the mixture of language forms, the original narrative must have undergone a series of copyings at the hands, first of one or more Anglo-Norman, and then of continental scribes. Some of these copyists must have worked with no great care, for the number of obviously faulty or obscure lines is large. Under such circumstances, a close comparison with the Latin original would seem to present itself as the first duty of any editor of the French poem.

In the edition of the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz* which I published in 1894,¹ very small use was made of the Latin *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* of Henricus Salteriensis, although at least two manuscripts of this text had been made accessible before that year by Eduard Mall, who, a few years before his death, planned an edition of Marie's poem. It is also true that Mall claimed that, with the aid of these two MSS., any future editor of the *Espurgatoire* might expect to be able to constitute a text which would be, on the whole, satisfactory. But this claim proved, in some respects, not well founded, and the failure on my part to make the needed comparison was not without excuse.

It had been easy in my former edition to show—a demonstration which need not be repeated here—that the manuscript of the *Tractatus* used by Marie de France belonged to the group of MSS. which has been denoted as class *b*. The MSS. now known to be of this class are as follows:

1. Manuscript K: British Museum, *Arundel* 292, fos. 72–86. Fully described in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. II, pp. 452 ff., and printed by Mall in *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. VI, pp. 147 ff.

2. Manuscript J: British Museum, *Harley* 3846, fos. 134–47. Described in Ward's *Catalogue*, Vol. II, pp. 463 ff., and printed, for the first time, in the present article, from a copy executed under the direction of Lucy Toulmin Smith.

3. Manuscript T: British Museum, *Cotton*, *Tiberius* E. i, Part I, fos. 65b–68b. Described in Ward's *Catalogue*, Vol. II, pp. 461 ff. To be published by the Clarendon Press, in Horstmann's edition of John of Tinmouth's *Sanctilogium Britannicum*. Damaged by fire, etc.

4. Manuscript A: Bamberg (Bavaria), MS. E, VII, 59. Printed by Mall in *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.

In instituting a close verbal comparison of Mall's first MS. (A) with Marie's

¹ Johns Hopkins University Dissertation. Philadelphia, 1894.

verses, it soon became apparent to me that, after the few introductory chapters, the A text had undergone a process of literary elaboration which, in a most disappointing manner, took away most of its value for purposes of verbatim comparison. Thus, in seeking the original for Marie's l. 884: *Ne volt un mot parler a els*, it was obviously of little value to find in A: *labiis suis indicit silencium nec respondet*, when, at the same time, it was found that JK have: *nec vel unum verbum (eis) respondit*.

A serious obstacle of quite a different nature was encountered in attempting to use K, the second manuscript published by Mall. This was printed from Stürzinger's collation of the original with Colgan's text¹ of 1647, reprinted by Mall. Colgan's is a composite text, and hence of little value, belonging as a whole to class *a*, while K, as we have seen, belongs to class *b*. It was found difficult and indeed unsafe to restore K by relying upon a collation of two texts so widely divergent. As Mall himself regretted, the process was certain to be fruitful in errors of various kinds. Thus, in chap. xvi, l. 23, were one to follow the printed K, one would read: *respiciensque infra patriam vidit portam*, whereas the true reading of this and other MSS. is: *respiciensque infra portam vidit patriam*.

In planning the revision of the text of the *Espurgatoire* which is here brought to completion, my attention was directed to another MS. of class *b*—the Harleian MS. (J). An examination of this text revealed the fact, apparently overlooked by Mr. Ward, that it contains the Latin text of what has been termed the First Homily (ll. 1401–84 in the translation) in a form which is certainly very close to that of the MS. which Marie de France had before her. The whole of this passage is wanting in K; it is so transformed in A as to be practically useless, while in MS. B—the best representative of class *a*—it is expanded to a length nearly six times that in both A and J.

The object of the present article is, therefore, to offer a revised text of Marie's *Espurgatoire*, such as the editor has been able to construct by availing himself, on the one hand of the readings of the Harleian MS., as controlled by K, A, and sometimes Clg; and, on the other hand by putting to profit the criticisms of his first edition which have appeared since 1894. Of these, the most detailed and thorough-going have been those of Messrs. G. Paris and K. Warnke.² To these the editor gladly acknowledges his obligations.

A few words more in regard to MS. J and its fitness to accompany the revised text of the *Espurgatoire*. It furnishes a parallel to Marie's translation as far as line

¹See his *Trias Thaumaturga* (Louvain, 1647), p. 273. Colgan, as he states, had before him three MSS. He took as basis a copy which had been made by his fellow-countryman, Eugene Sweeny (Subneus), Doctor of the Sorbonne, and at that time Bishop of Killmore, from an original in the Abbey of Saint Victor de Paris. Colgan adds variants from two other MSS., one from the monastery of Cordendonek, near Turnhout, Belgium; the other of unknown origin. I have designated Colgan's text as "Clg."

²See *Romania* Vol. XXIV, pp. 290 ff.; *Litteraturblatt*

für Germanische und Romanische Philologie, 1895, No. 2. In 1898, in his chapter on Marie's language in the introduction to his edition of the *Fables* (pp. lxxx ff.) Warnke included in his treatment the material gathered from the *Lays* and the *Espurgatoire*, giving for the latter a number of readings, by several of which the present editor has felt free to profit. This treatment, and the chapter on the same subject in my first edition (pp. 29 ff.) seem to make unnecessary any further consideration of the language of the *Espurgatoire*; only a few details will therefore appear here, in the notes to the text and in the glossary.

2062, thus including more than seven-eighths of the whole. MS. K, which stands very close to J, supplies a satisfactory text for all but seventy-six of the remaining 240 lines. These seventy-six lines include a short passage of eight lines concerning the two Irish abbots (ll. 2063-70) and a longer episode of sixty-eight lines, in which Bishop Florentianus's Chaplain tells of a second Hermit, who in turn relates the Story of the Uncharitable Peasant (ll. 2117-84). For these two passages, I have been compelled to have recourse to a MS. of class *a*—the British Museum MS. Royal 13 B. viii (B), although this MS. and the one translated by Marie do not belong to the same class. Considering, however, the brevity of these passages, and the absence in them of obscurities or other difficulties, it seems permissible to use B for the purpose.

The correspondence of the Latin text here published,² with Marie's poem, is shown in detail in the following table:

Marie de France		Number of Lines		Latin MSS.	
Lines	1-8	-	-	8	- (Marie's Prologue)
	9-2062	-	-	2054	- B. M., <i>Harley</i> 3846 (J)
	2063-2070	-	-	8	- B. M., <i>Royal</i> 13 B. viii (B)
	2071-2116	-	-	46	- B. M., <i>Arundel</i> 292 (K)
	2117-2184	-	-	68	- B. M., <i>Royal</i> 13 B. viii (B)
	2185-2296	-	-	112	- B. M., <i>Arundel</i> 292 (K)
	2297-2302	-	-	6	- (Marie's Epilogue)
				2302	

It should be added that neither A nor K nor J can itself be the original upon which Marie worked. A omits the story of the Irishman (Marie, ll. 215-64); K does not contain the long prologue (Marie, ll. 17-188), nor the episode of the two Irish abbots (Marie, ll. 2063-70), nor the chaplain's tale of the Second Hermit (Marie, ll. 2117-84); the story of the Priest and Girl (Marie, ll. 2185-2296) appears in K, therefore, as if reported by Bishop Florentianus, and not by his chaplain, as in B and in Marie (*cf.* Ward, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 454). In J, as indicated above, the account of Florentianus and all subsequent matters are omitted (Marie, ll. 2071-2296).

Marie de France nowhere states definitely that her original is in Latin, but she plainly implies as much when she says in the Epilogue: *Jo, Marie, ai mis en memoire Le livre de l'Espurgatoire: En romanz qu'il soit entendables A laie gent e cuvenables*. Nowhere does she name Henry of Saltrey, the author of her original; but twice she refers to him as *li autors* (ll. 1401, 2058). The *Tractatus* itself Marie entitles *le livre de l'Espurgatoire* (2298) or simply *li livre* (4, 806, 1404), *ceste escripture* (30, 47),

²In printing the Latin text, capitals, punctuation, and often paragraphing have been supplied where desirable. As to the abbreviations, although desirous of reducing my responsibility in the matter to a minimum, I have not deemed it necessary to print in italics all the letters due to the solution of the very numerous signs in the original.

Redundant or corrupt words found in the MS. are

printed in *italics*, in brackets; missing words and letters are added in brackets in Roman type, their source being indicated in foot-note.

My thanks are due Dr. William Hamilton Kirk, of Rutgers College, and Professor Ferris W. Price, of Swarthmore College, for valuable assistance in preparing the Latin text.

nostre escrit (141), *li escriz* (421, 504). Less definite references to the Latin work are: *ici nus dit* (94, 177, 393), *ceo trovum* (1088).

Dr. Eckleben's observation,⁴ that Marie generally puts herself in the place of the Latin author, and, like Henry, narrates in the first person, is found to be correct. Cf. *jo* 9, 17, 47, 185 ff., 1433, 2061-2, 2063, 2071 ff., 2148, 2181; *nus* 31, 92 (111), (143), 299, 1453 ff., 1466 ff.; *nostre* 1449. It was only natural that this mental attitude should at times cause the use of *jo*, *nus*, when their equivalents do not occur *verbatim* in the Latin text: cf. *jo* 79, 670, 1485; *nus* 152, 156, 424, 507, etc. The auditors for whom (as a form, at least) Marie composed her work are addressed as *Seignurs* (49, 189, 421), or indefinitely as *vus* (123, 670. Cf. also 673, 1403, 1555, 1825). *Beals pere* (16) seems to come from the Latin original.

The result of a comparison of Marie's text with that of her original as seen in AJK (and occasionally Clg) is, in general, to confirm the observation of G. Paris: "Marie a traduit avec la fidélité la plus scrupuleuse." Nevertheless, our author allows herself not a few omissions and additions of a minor character, by which the Latin phrase is expanded or (more rarely) abridged. The result is that, under her hands, the narrative improves not a little in clearness and vivacity. The variations may be grouped under three heads: additions, omissions, discrepancies.

The additions worthy of mention are of two kinds. A certain number contain ideas which, while not given verbal expression in the Latin text, are yet more or less plainly implied there by the context. As an instance, we may take the phrase *sicque processio in ecclesiam rediit*, which grows in Marie's hands into: *Vunt s'en od la processiun El mustier e funt oraison Que Deus ait pitié e merci Del chevalier dunt jo vus di* (ll. 667-70). Similar cases are: 92, 123, 124, 152, 156, 181-4, 262, 263, 264, 289, 290, 590, 638, 834, 898, 1052, 1410, 1423, 1424, 1448, 2216, and others less noteworthy.

As entirely original matter are to be noted, not only the Prologue and the Epilogue, but also four couplets in the body of the poem, a total of twenty-two lines. Twice in the account of the hell-torments is Marie constrained to utter words of commiseration: *Chaitis est cil qui en tel peine, Par ses pechiez, se trait e meine.* (1019-20); and: *Allas, que nuls deit deservir Qu'itel peine deüst souffrir!* (1053-4). More commonplace is the reflection: *Mult est cist nuns* (i. e., *li nuns Jhesu*) *bons a numer, Par quei um se puet delivrer* (1119-20). Finally, after the glowing description of the Terrestrial Paradise, Marie cannot repress the exclamation: *Or nus doint Deus ceo deservir Qu'a cez joies puissuns venir!* (1667-8). These interjections bear the imprint of sincerity, and afford us a glimpse into the mind of the author.

As to omissions, the only important cases seem to be the three following. After l. 502, the sentence *sicque . . . recedunt* is passed over; it is to be noted that its inclusion would have involved a useless repetition. At ll. 915 ff., the sentence *Ejulantes . . . decesserunt* is not translated, and the preceding sentence is much abridged. Here again the narrative gains by the omission of unessentials. After l. 1400, Marie

⁴ *Die Älteste Schilderung vom Fegefeuer des heil. Patricius: Eine literarische Untersuchung* (Halle, 1885), p. 47.

neglects to translate the clause *sic itaque . . . a longe*, whose meaning, after all, is far from clear. Another omission which, however, is less certain, because the comparison is with the Latin text of B, occurs at ll. 2066 ff., where Marie says nothing about the testimony of the first Irish abbot.

Among the discrepancies noted between Marie and JK, by far the most important occurs in the passage (ll. 215-64) which contains the narrative of the old Irishman who was surprised to learn of the serious nature of the sin of homicide. As Ward points out (p. 444), Marie avoids the break caused by this interpolated story by ascribing the whole experience to St. Patrick and changing the narrative from the first to the third person. If this change had not already been introduced in her original, Marie must have ignored the initial sentence, especially the clause *relator horum inquit*. The meaning of the concluding sentence of the episode is also altered.

Pushing the comparison further, we meet a number of minor verbal disagreements, most of which would doubtless disappear if by any chance we should hit upon the very MS. used for the translation, and if, at the same time, we could obtain a definitive edition of the French text. Among these may be cited l. 687, where the reading *avait en sei* should be *n'aveit en sei*, if we may judge from JK: (*in se*) *non habebat*. A second instance is l. 1708, where the phrase *lumen mentis* appears in the French as *la clarté del ciel* (!). Mall's remark (*Rom. Forsch.*, VI, 180, note) that at l. 1520 Marie had misunderstood her text, is without foundation, being due to a false reading of Roquefort. The MS. reading *un pas vit resplendissant* appears in Roquefort's text (1820) as *un pas vit tut resplendissant*; the true reading, *un pats vit*, reproduces the original *vidit patriam* (JK).

The following outline of Marie's poem may be useful in the comparative study of the Purgatory legend:

Marie's Prologue (1-8); Prologue of Henry of Saltrey (9-30); abstract of St. Gregory's discourse on the condition of the human soul in the future world (31-122), on the character of hell and its torments (123-50) and on revelations of the spirit world (151-88); the preaching of the second St. Patrick, the penitent Irishman, the miraculous gift of the Gospel Text and the Lord's Staff, the first revelation of the purgatorial pit, foundation of the Abbey of Canons Regular and its subsequent history (189-420); ceremonies attendant upon descents into the Purgatory (421-502.)

Narrative of Sir Owein's descent: He is warned by the Prior, but persists (503-670); entrance, the wonderful Hall, meeting with the fifteen persons (671-820); entrance of the demons, their discourse (821-86); the Torment of Fire in the Hall (887-914); the Desolate Region and the Cold Wind, the First Field—the naked sinners are on their backs, nailed to the earth, beaten by demons (915-78); the Second Field—the sinners lie face downward, serpents and toads sting them (979-1032); the Third Field—the sinners lie transfixed with glowing nails, some on their backs, others face downward, tormented by a cold wind and by the demons' blows (1033-68); the Fourth Field—the sinners are hanging, by various parts of the body,

over sulphurous flames; Owein recognizes some of his former comrades (1069-1120). Further on, others are hooked upon a fiery wheel which revolves in flames with incredible swiftness (1121-68); next comes a Smoky Building whose ground-floor is covered with deep pits filled with boiling metals, in which the sinners stand immersed to different depths (1169-1222); next a Mountain, where sits a naked multitude facing the north and bent forward so that the head and toes nearly meet. A whirlwind catches up Owein and his tormentors and casts them into a cold, foul river; when they rise to the surface, demons push them back with iron prongs (1223-62). Next comes the Mouth of Hell, into which the demons leap, dragging Owein with them; he is thrown back alone into the air and alights beside the pit; a new set of demons will show him "the real Hell;" they come to a flaming river, over which stretches a Bridge with three-fold perils (1263-1400). Homily, "to be addressed by a reading monk to his brethren" (Ward) (1401-84). Owein visits the Terrestrial Paradise, discourse of the two Archbishops (1485-1794); view of the entrance to the Celestial Paradise, visitation of the heavenly fire, return of Owein to the gate of the Purgatory, his subsequent life (1795-1932).

Gilbert of Louth and his connection with Owein (1933-96); Gilbert defends the truth of Owein's narrative (1997-2056); Epilogue of Henry of Saltrey, which Marie renders: "Gilbert related these facts to the author (Henry) who reported them to us, just as Owein and the Monk (of Basingwerk, i. e., 2019-56) had narrated them to him, and as I (Henry?) have set them forth here in my narrative." (2057-62.)

Henry questions two Irish abbots as to the truth of the story (2063-70); he consults Bishop Florentianus, who narrates the Tale of the First Hermit (2071-2116); the Bishop's chaplain tells of a Second Hermit who was anxious to become acquainted with the First, and who had told him (the chaplain) of an assembly of devils where one demon had related the Story of the Uncharitable Peasant (2117-80); the chaplain continues with the final Tale of the Priest and Girl (2181-2296); Marie's Epilogue (2297-2302).

On the questions as to the dates and the relative order of Marie's works, the present article has nothing new to offer. The closer comparison of the Latin and French texts has caused me to alter my opinion somewhat as to the slender literary merit of the *Espurgatoire*. Dr. G. P. Krapp has called attention⁵ to the fact that the Chronicle of John Brompton, cited by Eckleben (*op. cit.*, pp. 28, 48; my first edition, p. 13) as a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the *Tractatus*, is an unsafe basis for that conclusion, the work being a mosaic of parts written at various dates, and some later than 1197.

With regard to the classification of Marie's language, I may be permitted to refer to my first edition (pp. 21 ff.), where the thesis is upheld that, so far as the existence of a diphthong *ou* (= Latin free *ō*, *ū*) is concerned, the poems of Marie and Benott's *Roman de Troie* stand upon the same plane: that this is true, regardless both

⁵ *The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: Its Later Literary History* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 2, 3.

of the name that may be given to the language that they employed and of the nature of the sound denoted by *ou* (*u*). Suchier suggests (Altfrz. Gram., p. 69) that Marie's (and Guarnier's) separation of *en* + Cons. and *an* + Cons. may be due to "adaptation to their Anglo-Norman environment." A similar suggestion is made by G. Paris (*Romania*, Vol. XXIV, p. 290). It is permissible to advance the same explanation for the absence in Marie's language of the above-mentioned diphthong *ou*, and for the weakness observed in the flexional system (cf. Warnke, *Fables*, p. lxxxix). Ought not these well-defined linguistic traits to be given great weight in the classification of the author's language? Ought the probability that Marie was born within the limits of the Royal Domain to weigh for much against them? It is perhaps worth noting that, strictly speaking, the village Pistres (Pistes), of which Marie speaks as if she were familiar with the place (*Dous Amanz*, 18 ff.) does not lie in the Norman Vexin (as Warnke says, *Fables*, p. cxii), but in Normandy. Very little weight should, after all, be laid upon such a passage; the facts noted by Marie are such as might easily attract the observation of any traveler.

TRACTATUS DE PURGATORIO
SANCTI PATRICII

BRITISH MUSEUM, HARLEY MS. 3846, FO. 134, A

*Incipit relatio cuidam sapientis de
Purgatorio Sancti Patritij in Hibernia.
Cum continua salute, patri filius,
obedientie munus.*

Jussisti[s],* pater venerande, ut
scriptum vobis mitterem, quod de Pur-
gatorio in vestra me retuli audissem
presentia. Quod quidem eo libentius
aggredior, quod ad id explendum pater-
nitatis vestre jussione instantius com-
pellor.

Licet enim utilitatem multorum per
me provenire desiderem, non nisi tamen
talia jussus presumerem. Vestram vero

*AClg.

Rejected Readings of the MS. Heading: Ci paront des
peines que sunt en purgatoire.—L. 2 enueit.—3 Uoil.—4

L'ESPURGATOIRE SAINT
PATRIZ

BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, FDS. FRQ. 25407, FO. 102, A

*Al nun de Deu, qui od nus seit,
E qui sa grace nus enveit,
Voeil en romanz mettre en escrit,
Si cum li livre le nus dit,
En remembrance e en memoire, 5
Les peines de l'espurgatoire;
Qu'a Seint Patriz volt Deus mustrer
Le liu u l'um i deit entrer.
Uns prozdum m'a pieça requis;
Pur ço m'en sui ore entremis 10
De mettre mei en cel labur,
Pur reverence e pur s'onur.
E si lui plect e [qu']il le voeille
Qu'en ses bienfaiz tuz jurs m'acoeille.
Dirai ço que j'en ai oi; 15
Bel pere, ore entendez ici.*

*Ja seit ço que jo desir
De faire a grant profit venir
Plusurs genz e els amender,*

cume; liures.—6 Des; del purgatoire.—7 Ka; dels.—8 ou lom
—9 prosdom mad peca requise.—10 entremise.—13 uoille.—
14 Ken; macoille.—15 ke io en.—16 Beau pere.—17 ke.

minime lateat paternitatem, numquam me legisse vel audisse quicquam, unde in timore et amore Dei [tantum]* proficerem.

Et quoniam beatum papam quicquam [*read* Gregorium]* legimus multa dixisse [de hiis]* que erga animas fuerunt, [*read* fiunt]* terrenis exutas et corporali[bus?], [plurima]* narratione proposuisse, ut [et]* tristibus negligentium animos terreret, et letis justorum affectum ad devotionem inflammaret; fiducialius, quod jubetis, ad prefatum [profectum]* simplicitium perficiam.

In multis enim exemplis, que proposuit, ad exitum animarum, anglorum bonorum sive malorum presentiam adesse dicit, qui animas pro meritis vel ad tormenta protrahant, vel ad requiem perducant. Set et ipsas animas, adhuc in corpore positas, ante exitum multa de hiis, que ventura sunt super eas, sive ex responsione (*sic*) con-

E servir Deu plus e duter, 20
Ja de ço ne m'entremesisse,
N'en estuide ne me mesisse,
Si ne fust pur vostre priere,
Qui en mun quer est dulce e chiere.
Poi en ai oi e vet; 25
Pur ço que j'en ai entendu
Ai jo vers Deu greignur amur
De *lui* servir, mun Creatur;
102b Pur quei jo voldrai aovrir
Ceste escripture e descuvrir. 30

MULZ essamples nus met avant
Seinz Gregoires en sermunant
Des espiriz qui sunt es cors,
E des altres qui sunt defors, 35
E des choses qui sunt nuisables,
Horribles e espoëntables,
Pur espoënter les corages
Des pecheurs e des nun sages
Des tristescs que il avrunt
E [que] les almes sufferunt; 40
E pur mettre en compunccion,
E en greignur devociun,
Cels qui voelent a Deu plaisir
E le sien regne deservir.
Pur ço plus ententivement, 45
Pur amender la simple gent,
Voeil desclore ceste escripture
E mettre i, pur Deu, peine e cure.

SEIGNURS, a l'eissue del cors,
Quant les almes s'en issent fors 50
Li bon angle i sunt en present;
Li mal [i] viennent ensement.
Li bon angle, c'en est la sume,
Receivent l'alme del produme,
En joie e en repos la mettent; 55
E li diable s'entremettent
102c De[s] males almes turmenter

*AClg.

22 estuide.—24 Ken; duce.—26 Par; ke.—28 Deu.—29 Par; uodrai.—30 descourir.—32 saint gregoire.—33 espirez.—

34 autres.—35 nuisables.—36 espoëntables.—37 espunter.—38 pecheur.—39 kil auerunt.—40 sufferunt.—43 Ces; uolent; plaisir.—47 Voil.—48 mettri.—50 se.—54 prodome.

scientie interiori[s]*, sive per revelationes exterius factas, prescisse fatetur. Raptas etiam, et iterum ad corpora reductas, visiones quasdam et revelationes sibi factas narrasse dicit, sive de tormentis impiorum, sive de gaudiis justorum; et in hiis tamen non nisi corporale, vel corporalibus simile, recitasse:

flumina, flammæ, pontes, naves, domos, nemora, prata, flores, homines nigros vel candidos [et]† cetera qualia solent in hoc mundo ad gaudium amari, vel ad tormenta timeri; se quoque solutas corpor[al]ibus† manibus trahi, deduci pedibus, collo suspendi, flagellari, precipitari, et alia multa hujusmodi, que nostre minime repugnant narrationi.

[fo. 134b] Notum est multos autem multotiens quesisse, qualiter anime a

*A. †AClg.

59 Solum; keles.—60 ilueke guerdone.—61 Unkore.—62 Ke.—63 Ens ke.—64 ke.—65 Dautres e.—67 Ou; iure.—68 Solum eo; ke.—70 denan.—72 repeirent.—73 kunt.—74 Ou; ou.—75 ke; auer.—76 ke; cremer.—77 uelen.—78 ke.—

E en peril od els mener.
Sulunc ço qu'eles unt ovré
Lur ert iluec guereduné. 60
Uncor nus dit apertement
Que plusurs almes veirement,
Einz que des cors puissent partir
Veient que lur est a venir:
Plusurs par revelaciun, 65
E d'autres par avisium,
U par *lur* dreite consciënce,
Sulunc iço qu'il unt licence.
Plusurs des almes veirement
Veient, devant lur finement, 70
Avisiuns e sunt ravies;
Puis repairent as cors en vies,
E mustrent ço que unt veü
U de turment u de salu:
Ço que li bon deivent avoir 75
E que li mal deivent cremer.
Il veient espiritelment
Ço que semble corporelment;
Il veient ewe e punz levez, 80
Feu e maisuns e bois e prez
E humes de divers semblanz,
U neirs u blans aparissanz.
Altres choses veient plusur:
Semblanz a joie u a dolor.
102d Puis lur est avis que trait sunt 85
Par mains, par piez la u peine unt;
Puis sunt pendu e flaëlé
E en ord liu apres jetté.
Altres mals suefrent veirement
Qui ne se *descordent* niënt 90
Al cunte que cunter voluns
E que nus cumencé avuns.

PLUSUR cuveitent a saveir
Des almes, ci nus dit pur veir,

81 homes.—82 Ou; ou.—83 Autres; plusurs.—84 dolor.—85 ke treiz.—87 pendus; flaelex.—88 iettes.—89 Autres; suffrant.—90 descorde.—91 ke.—92 ke; comencee.—93 Plusurs couaitent; sauer.

corporibus exeant, [quo pergant que]* quia nobis sunt abscondita, [et] ideo magis nobis [sunt]* timenda, quam querenda. Quis enim unquam cum securitate in incerto itinere perrexit? Hic [sic] vero omnibus certum habet[ur?]* quod vitam bonam mors mala non sequitur. Et licet usque ad mortem maneat meritum, et post mortem premium reddatur, pena tamen post mortem esse dicitur, que purgatoria nominatur, in qua hij, qui in hac vita cum quibusdam culpis, justi tamen [et]* ad vitam predestinatum [read predestinati]* extiterunt eternam, ad tempus [pro]† eis cruciabantur, ubi [read ut?] purgentur.

Unde quemadmodum a Deo corporales pene dicuntur parate, ita [ubi] ipsis penis loca corporalia, in quibus sint, dicuntur esse distincta. Creduntur tamen tormenta maxima, ad que culpa deorsum premit, in imo esse et loca sibi habere; maxima gaudia, ad que per justiciam sursum ascenditur, in summo;

*AClg. †A.

95 Coment; eissent.—96 ou nont.—97 ke.—98 Ne; sauons.
99 Denom; cremer; doter.—100 Ke.—103 Qui; ou; fust.—104 dust.—105 autresl.—106 sauons.—107 kele.—108 loure kele ad.—109 Meis mal mort ne.—111 Nepuroeke.—112 Ke; loure.—113 espurgatorie.—114 Mes cil; attendent glorie.—115

Cument eles issent des cors 95
E u vunt quant eles sunt hors.
Pur ço que nus certainement
N'en savuns nul aveiement,
Devum plus cremeir e duter,
Que enquerre ne demander. 100
Qui serreit si fols ne desvez,
Hors de sun sen e afolez,
Qu'il alast la u ne setust
Quels mals avenir li defist?
De l'alme est il tut altresi: 105
Nus ne savuns niënt ici.
Puis que ele est hors del cors traite
C'est sulunc l'oeuvre qu'ele a faite;
Mais male morz, n'en dutum mie,
Ne vient pas apres bone vie. 110
Nepuroec nus sumes certains
Que sulunc l'oeuvre unt plus u meins
108a Des peines de l'espurgatoire.
Nets cels qui attendent gloire
Covient a cez turmenz venir, 115
E travail e peines souffrir.
Cil qui sunt ici dreiturier
E qui meins i voelent pechier,
Pur avoir parmanable vie,
La passerunt, n'en dutuns mie, 120
Pur estre espurgiez de lur mals;
Puis s'en istrunt, si serrunt sals.

Ioi vus musterruns des peines
Qui de tute dolur sunt pleines;
Apareilliées sunt e tels 125
Cum fussent en lius corporels.
Tels est de Deu la purveance,
Li greignur turment, sanz dutance,
Sunt plus parfunt e plus custus;
E li altre sunt meins grevus 130

couent; oes.—117 Icill; dretturer.—118 volent pecher.—119 auer parmenable.—120 ne dotuns.—121 espurges.—122 musterruns.—124 Ke.—125 aparillees.—126 Cume fuissent.—128 Les greignurs turmens.—129 parfuns.—130 autres; meins is corrected from plus.

media autem bona in medio; quod et huic congruere videtur narrationi.

Et quod infernus subtus terram, vel infra terre cavitatem, quasi carcer et ergastulum tenebrarum a quibusdam esse creditur, narratione ista nichilominus asseritur: et quod paradysus in oriente et in terra sit, narracio ista ostendit, ubi fidelium anime a penis purgatoriis liberate dicuntur aliquandiu morari jocunde. Dicit vero beatus Augustinus animas defunctorum post mortem usque ad ultimam resurrectionem abditis receptaculis contineri, sicut unaqueque est digna, vel in requie vel in erumpna.

Quod vero et beatus Augustinus et beatus Gregorius incorporeos spiritos dicunt pene corporalis igne posse cremari, narratione ista hic videtur affirmari. In pena vero purgatoria, qua post exitum purgantur [electi]*, certum est alios aliis plus minusve pro meritis cruciari. Que quid[em]* ab hominibus non possunt diffiniri, quia ab eis minime possunt sciri: ab eis tamen, quorum anime a corporibus exint [read exeunt] et iterum (deo volente) ad corpora redeunt, signa quedam corporalibus similia, ad demonstrationem spiritualium nuntiantur; quia nisi in talibus et per talia ab animabus corporibus [fo. 135, a] exutis viderentur, nullo modo ab eisdem ad corpora reversis, in corpore

*AClg.

133 Autresi.—135 (chartre) est.—136 neissent.—137 ad.—138 ou deu lad.—142 Ke iluek.—143 seint.—144 prodome fud; bon.—145 Ke; gardees.—147 Ou; ou.—148 Solune.—149 deska.—150 Ke; uendrat a.—151 Greg' autresi.—152

Pur ço [qu'il] atendent merci
E n'erent pas del tut peri.

Altresi est d'enfer li lius:

Desuz terre, parfuns e cius,

Si cume chartre tenebruse,

A cels qui naissent perilluse.

En terre a il un parewis,

Vers oriënt u Deus l'a mis,

U les almes sunt amenées

Quant de peine sunt delivrées.

103b Ici trovum en nostre escrit

Qu'iluec demuerent a delit.

Aillurs nus dit Seinz Atstins,

Qui prozdum fu e bons devins,

Que plusurs almes sunt guardées

Par divers lius e escunsées

U en repos u en dolor,

Sulunc lur oevre e lur labur;

Issi serrunt desqu'a l'asise,

Que Deus vendra al grant juise.

Seinz Gregoires dit altresi

En ses livres, qu'avuns oi,

Des nun corporels espiriz,

Que poeent estre ars e brulz

El siecle, del feu corporel.

Aillurs trovuns nus altre tel:

Que les almes qui sunt eslites

A Deu, e par lur bien parfites,

Vunt el turment d'espurgatoire;

Après cel mal irunt en gloire.

Les unes sunt en grief turment,

Plus que les autres veirement.

Icist turment sunt escunsé,

A la gent ne sunt pas mustré,

Pur ço qu'il sunt espiritel,

E que li hume sunt mortel.

Purquant par revelaciuns

Veient, e par avisiums,

kaons.—154 Qui poent.—155 trouons; autre.—157 Ke; que.—159 Uont; purgatorie.—160 irrunt; glorie.—161 gref.—162 ke; autres.—163 esconse.—165 kil.—166 ki; home.—167 Nepurquant.

viventibus, et corporalia tantum scientibus, dicerentur. Unde et in hac narratione a corporali et mortali homine [spiritualia]* dicuntur videri, quasi in corporali forma et spiritus [read specie].* Quis mihi eam retulerit, et quomodo eam ille agnoverit, in fine narrationis indicabo. Quamquidem narrationem, si bene memini, ita exorsus est.

I. Noster magnus sanctus Patricius, qui a primo† est secundus, qui cum in Hibernia verbum Domini predicaret atque miraculis chorustaret gloriosis, studuit bestiales hominum illius patrie animos terrore tormentorum infernalium a malo revocare et paradisi gaudiorum promissione in bonum firmare.

*AClg. †J: a est primo.
170 Solunc; keles.—172 reuenent.—173. par.—174 E de.—
175 Ke.—176 kil.—177 si; ke home.—180 De home; sustance.
—181 uerement.—184 ke auoms.—186 ke io.—187 dirrai;

103c Plusurs des almes meinz granz signes,
Sulunc iço qu'eles sunt dignes. 170
Quant eles sunt des cors ravies,
Par Deu revienent a lur vies,
E diënt bien *pur* la mustrance
De cele espiritel substance
Que semblable est a corporel, 175
Ço qu'il veient [d']espiritel.
E ci nus dit qu'hume mortel
Unt ço veñ e corporel:
Si cume en forme e en semblance
D'hume [la] corporel substance. 180
Qui crerreit ço veraïement,
Si n'en eüst demustrement—
Ceste chose estre verité,
Que nus avums ici mustré?
Si j'ai bien eñ en memoire 185
Ço que j'ai ol en l'estoire,
Jo vus dirai veraïement
En ordre le cumencement.

SEIGNURS, entendez la raisun:
Uns seinz hum fu, Patriz out nun; 190
Mult fu religius e ber;
Pur la parole Deu mustrer,
Ala en predicaciun
En Yrlande od devociun.
Il fu li secunz qui la mist 195
La lei Deu e tenir la fist.
103d Deus fist pur lui vertuz e signes
E miracles, kar il ert dignes.
Mult s'entremist devotement
De mettre en cels entendement 200
Qui erent de fole creance,
Que jetté fussent hors d'errance.
Lur bestials cors nun estables
Voleit faire a Deu cuvenables;
Mult les espoënta suvent 205

uerement.—183 commencement.—190 Un seint hom.—191
fud.—193 Alad.—195 fud.—200 cens.—202 Ke; fuissent; de
rance.—204 cuvenables.—205 lespoëntat souent.

Eos vero, relator horum inquit, bestiales esse veraciter et ipse comperi. Quando enim in patria fui, accessit ad me ante pascha vir quidam capite cano ac decrepita etate, dicens se corpus Christi nunquam percepisse, et in illo die proximo pasche illud velle suscipere; et quoniam videbat me et monachum et sacerdotem esse, mihi per confessionem vitam suam velle manifestare, quatinus ad tantum sacramentum securius possit accedere. Et quoniam patrie illius linguam minime scivi, interpretere [*read* interpretem]* mihi adhibens, ejus confessionem recepi. Qui cum mihi cuncta dixisset, que decere (sic) voluisset, et de homicidio mentionem non fecisset,

ipsum interpretem interrogavi, si unquam occidisset hominem: respondit homo, nescire se pro certo si plures

Par l'enfernal encumbrement
E des peines que cil avrunt
Qui en Jhesu Crist ne crerrunt;
E mult suvent les rehaita
Des granz joies qu'il lur mustra 210
U tuit cil deivent parvenir
Quil voelent amer e servir.
De ço les fist il entendanz
Pur ço que il fussent creanz.

QUANT el pais avait esté 215
Seinz Patriz, e de Deu mustré,
Encuntre la Pasche est venuz
Uns hum a lui, vielz e chanuz:
En cunfessiun li conut
Qu'unques le cors Deu ne reçut. 220
Pur ço que moignes ert e prestre
Li volt tut regehir sun estre;
Cunfes se fist, ne cela mie,
Einz li cunta tute sa vie,
Pur ço qu'il volt prochainement 225
Recevoir e plus dignement
Le cors nostre seignur Jhesu
Qu'il n'aveit unques receü.
Pur ço qu'il ne saveit cumprendre
Sun language, ne rien entendre, 230
Il fist un latimier venir,
Pur lui mustrer e aovrir
Ço que li vielz hum li diseit,
E dunt il se regehisseit.
Tute dist sa cunfessiun, 235
N'i parla rien d'occisiun;
N'ert pas pechiez, ço li ert vis,
Se il avait hume[s] occis.

SEINZ PATRIZ li a mult enquis
Se il en avait nul occis; 240
Il respondi: "Cink en ai morz,

*KB.

207 ke ci auerunt.—209 souent; reitit.—210 kil; mustat.—211 Ou tus.—212 Kil volent.—214 Par; kil fuissent.—217 encontre.—218 home; li ueus.—220 Ke unkes; receut.—

221 ke moines.—222 Lui.—223 Confes; celat.—224 lui cun-
tat.—225 kil.—226 receiure.—228 Kil; unkes.—229 kil;
comp.—231 latimer.—233 ke; uels home.—234 regeiseit.—
239 parlad; de oc.—237 pechie; lui.—238 Si; home.—239 lui ad.

quam tantum quinque homines occidisset; multos vero [a se]* ita vulneratos esse asseruit, de quibus nesciret, si tamen obierunt an non. Ita dixit, parvipendens et quasi innocens satis esset in eo, quod tam paucos occidisset; nescivit enim homicidium dampnabile esse peccatum. Cum cui dicere[m],* gravissimum peccatum esse, et tali facto creatorem suum dampnabiliter offendisse, dixit quod quicquid illi per penitentiam injungerem, gratant[er]* suscipere[t]* et absque ulla retractione perficeret. Habent enim hoc quasi naturaliter homines illius patrie, ut sicut sunt alterius gentis hominibus per ignorantiam [fo. 135b] proniores ad malum, sic dum se errasse cognouerunt (*sic*), proniores [read promciores?]* et stabiliores sunt ad penitendum. Hic [read Hec]* ideo dixi, ut eorum ostenderem bestiali[ta]tem.

Quam [gentem]† cum, ut predixi, beatus Patricius voluisset et terrore infernalium tormentorum et amore gaudiorum paradisi divertere et avellere, dicebant ad Christum se nunquam esse conversuros, nec pro miraculis, que videbant ab eo fieri . . . ‡ nisi aliquis eorum et tormenta illorum [read illa]|| malorum et gaudia bonorum posset intueri. Quatinus rebus visis certiores fierent, quam promissis et predicatis.

Beatus vero Patricius Deo devotus et a Deo satis dilectus [ut]§ devotior pro salute populi etiam [interderet]§ et vigiliis

*KB. †K. ‡BCLg add: nec per eius predicationem. A has same lacuna. See Clg., cap. i, ll. 12 ff. (p. 147). § AClgK. § Because of the recurring pro salute populi, the scribe has anticipated his text.

242 ke; ou; ou.—244 Sil turnereient.—245 sachez.—246

Quel que ço est u dreiz u torz,
E mulz navrez, mes ne sai mie
Se il turnerent puis a vie.
Ne quidai pas, bien le sachiez, 245
Que ço fust dampnables pechiez.”
Li seinz Deu li mustra e dist
Que c’ert encuntre Jhesu Crist,
E que mult en aveit perdu
Sun creatur e offendu. 250
Li vielz hum li cria merci:
“Sire,” dist il, “pur Deu vus pri,
104b Ma penitence me chargiez,
Ore avez oi mes pechiez.”
Il li charja mult bonement; 255
Cil la reçut devotement.
En cel pais est il en us
Que cil qui mesfunt tut le plus,
Quant il viennent en grant aage,
Qu’il sunt plus fier en lur corage 260
De grief penitence souffrir
Pur la Deu grace deservir.
Cest essample lur volt mustrer
Li seinz Deu pur els afermer.

QUANT Seinz Patriz aveit parlé 265
A cele gent, e demustré
De Deu la grant puissance veire,
N’i aveit nul qui volsist creire,
S’il ne mustra[s]t certainement, 270
Qu’il veissent apertement
Les joies dunt il a mustré
E les peines dunt a parlé;
S’il le veissent, mielz crerreient
Iço que dire li orreient.
Seinz Patriz li bons eûrez 275
Fu bien de Deu e mult privez;
Nuit e jur fu en oraisuns,
En veilles e afflicciuns,

Ke; pechez.—247 lui.—248 Ke co ert encontre.—249 ke.—251 uens home lui criad.—253 chargez.—255 lui charge.—256 E il; receut.—258 Ke.—259 uenent.—260 Qui; fiens.—267 Qe.—269 lur (after ne).—270 Kil.—271 ad.—272 ad.—274 Ke co; lui oreient.—276 Fud.—277 fud; oreisuns.—278 e en.

et orationibus et jejuniis atque alijs bonis [operibus]* est affectus. Et quidem dum talibus pro salute populi intenderet bonis, pius dominus Jesus ei visibiliter apparuit, sicut sepius fecit, textum evangeliorum et baculum unum ei dedit, que hucusque [in Hibernia]* pro magnis ac preciosis reliquiis, ut justum est, habentur. Baculus ille vero pro eo, quod illum sancto suo dedit dominus Jesus, baculus Jesus [sic] est vocatus; de quibus etiam in Vita sancti Malachie scriptum invenimus. Quicumque vero in patria [illa]† summus fuerit archiepiscopus, hunc habebit quasi pro signo sui presulatus.

Sanctum vero Patricium dominus in locum desertum eduxit, fossam unam rotundam atque intrinsecus obscuram ostendit, dicens ei, quod quisque veraciter penitens et fide armatus, fossam illam bona intentione introisset, spatio unius diei ac noctis, ab omnibus in ea purgaretur que in vita sua commiserat peccatis; et quod per eam introiens non solum visurus esset tormenta malorum, verumetiam, si fidelis et constans esset, gaudia beatorum.

*AClgK. †AClg.

231 ken.—232 kil; fuesent.—233 kil.—234 des oraisuns kil feseit.—235 lui.—236 souent.—237 de eu.—238 Lui donat.—239 kil dust.—240 Quant il; sermoner.—241 Uncore; garde.—242 cherte.—243 ke; dona.—244 comanda.—245 kin.—247 Itels.—

En jeûnes e en tristur,
Pur requerre nostre seigneur 280
1040 Del pueple, qu'en eüst merci,
E que il n'en fussent peri.
En cele entente qu'il esteit,
[E] es oraisuns qu'il faiseit,
Jhesu Crist li vint en present, 285
Si cum il avait fait suvent.
Un tixte d'evangeilles plein
Li duna e mist en sa mein;
E un bastun qu'il dut porter
Quant al pueple dut sermuner. 290
Uncor sunt el pals guardé
Pur reliques, en grant chierté.
Pur ço que le bastun duna
Deus a sun serf e cumanda,
Apele l'um icel bastun 295
"Le bastun Deu" qui'n fist le dun.
Icels choses deit cil avoir
Qui [l']eveschié deit purseoir.
Ço nus mustre Malachias,
En sa Vie, n'en dutez pas. 300

APRES cest fait, Deus amena
Seint Patriz e si li mustra,
En un desert,—uns lius guastez
Qui de gent n'ert pas habitez,—
Une fosse tute roûnde, 305
Si ert dedenz grant e parfunde;
E sachiez qu'ele esteit obscure,
Espoñtable a desmesure!
Puis li dist qu'iluec ert l'entrée
De l'espurgatoire trovée; 310
E qui fust de ferme creance
E eüst en Deu esperance,
E fust cunfes de ses pechiez
E apres acomuniez,
Purreit ici dedenz entrer; 315

296 Ki eueaked; purseir.—300 nel.—302 Seinz.—303 gasten.—
305 runde.—307 saches kele.—308 Espuntable; demesure.—
309 lui; ke iluek; lentra.—310 purgatoire e.—313 confes.—
315 E pur.

Sicque ab ejus visu domino dis-
parente, spiritali jocunditate est re-
pletus Sanctus Patricius, tam pro
domini sui apparitione, quam pro fosse
illius ostensione, per quam spera[ba]-
bat populum conversurum ab errore.

Statim in illo loco ecclesiam con- 105a
struxit et canonicos regularem vitam
ducentes in ea constituit. Fossam vero
illam, que in cimiterio est extra frontem
ecclesie orientalem, muro circumdedit
et januas serasque [fo. 136a] apposuit,
ne quis hominum sine ejus licentia per
diem vel per noctem eam intrare pre-
sumeret; clavem ostii custodiendam ex-
hibuit ejusdem ecclesie priori.

Cum vero tempore beati Patricii fos-
sam illam multi introissent penitentia
ducti, et tormenta maxima perpessi et

E s'il i poeit demurer
Un jur e une nuit entiere
E par ici venir ariere,
Tut serreit nez de ses pechiez
E de ses mesfaiz espurgiez, 320
De quant qu'il out fait en sa vie;
E si verreit, n'i faldreit mie,
E les peines e les dolurs
E les turmenz des pecheurs.
E les granz joies des esliz 325
Verreit, s'il fust en Deu parfiz.
Si tost cum Deus li out ço dit,
Devant sa face s'esvanit.
Li Seinz remest tut repleniz,
E de la grace Deu guarniz. 330
Mult fu haitiez de sun seignur,
Que il aveit veü le jur;
E de la fosse veirement
Qu'il poeit mustrer a [la] gent.
Pur ço quida que li plusur 335
Serreient [mis] hors de l'errur.
En cel liu fist une abbele,
U il mist gent de bone vie;
Chanoignes riulez i a mis,
Si lur a bien lur ordre apris. 340
El cimitiere veirement
Est la fosse, vers oriënt;
De mur l'enclost, portes i fist
E bone fermetüre i mist,
Pur ço qu'um n'i poist entrer, 345
Si par lui nun, ne la aler.
La clef cumanda al priur,
Si defendi que nuit ne jur
N'i entrast nuls, si par lui nun,
E par tuz cels de la maisun. 350

EL tens Seint Patriz par licence
Pristrent li plusur penitence:
Quant il esteient absolu,

316 purreit.—318 reuenir arere.—319. nota.—321 kil.—
322 verreit; faudreit.—324 de.—327 cume.—329 remist.—
330 garniz.—331 fud.—332 Kil.—333 fosse.—334 Kil.—335 ke.

—338 Ou.—339 ad.—340 ad.—341 cimiterie.—342 fosse.—343
kum; puet.—347 comanda.—348 defendit ke.—349 Nentrast.

gaudia se vidisse testati sunt. Quorum relaciones et dicta jussit beatus Patricius scribi in ecclesia[m]. Eorum ergo attestatione ceperunt alii beati patris predicationem suscipere.

Et quoniam ibi homo a peccatis purgatur, locus ille purgatorium vocatur; et quia beato Patricio priusquam [alijs]* a domino ostendebatur, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii nominatur. Locus ecclesie Regulis dicitur.

II. Post obitum vero sancti Patricii, erat prior in illa ecclesia, homo quidem sancte conversationis [ita]† decrepitus ut pre senectute non erat in capite ejus nisi dens tantummodo unus: et quia, sicut dicit beatus papa Gregorius, licet senex sit sanus, ipsa[m] senectute sua semper est infirmus, vir iste, ne senectutis infirmitate alijs videretur moles-

Si vindrent la u li us fu;
Enz entrerent setrement; 355
Mult sufrirent peine e turment
E mult virent l'horrible mal
De la dure peine enferral.
Après icele grant tristesce
Virent grant joie e grant leésce 360
Ço qu'il *volstrent* cunter e dire,
Fist Seinz Patriz iluec escrire.
De ço furent la genz creanz
Que Seinz Patriz esteit disanz,
105b Par cels qui esteient venu 365
De cel liu u orent veü
E les joies e les dolurs,
Sulunc les oeuvres des plusurs.
Pur ço qu'iluec sunt espurgiez
Cil qui entrent de lur pechiez, 370
A nun cil lius Espurgatoire,
Qui tuz jurs [mes] ert en memoire;
E pur ço que Deus demustra
A Seint Patriz e enseigna
Primes cel liu, est issi diz: 375
L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz.
Rigles a nun, la u fu mise,
Li lius, e fundée l'iglise.
Après cest fait que jo vus di,
Cist Seinz Patriz s'alme rendi 380
Mult seintement a Jhesu Crist,
Qui en sa gloire od lui la mist.

APRÈS lui out en la maisun
Un hume de religiun,
De bon estre e de seinte vie; 385
Si fu priurs de l'abbete.
De grant aage esteit forment:
Si vielz fu qu'il n'out qu'une dent.
Tut n'aient li vieil maladie,
Tant cum il sunt en ceste vie, 390
Si dit Seinz Gregoires que fieble

*A; K alii. †AK.

354 ou.—356 sufrirent.—357 horrible.—361 kil noient.—362 iluec escriure.—363 gent.—364 Ke.—366 ou.—368 Solunc; oures.

—369 ke iluec.—371 Ad; purgatoire.—373 ke.—374 patric.—377 ad; ou fud.—378 le ig.—379 ke.—384 Uns home; grant r.—386 fud.—388 uels fud kil; kune.—389 uell.—391 seint; ki feble.

tiam inferre, juxta canonicorum dormitorium sibi fecit preparari habitaculum. Porro juniores, qui in ecclesiam nutriti fuerant, eidem seni ex amore jocundo* dicere consueverant: "Quamdiu, pater, in hac vita vis permanere? Quando vis hinc abire?" Et senex ille: "Mallem, filii, si deus voluerit, hinc magis citius abire, quam tam diu hic mortaliter vivere: hic enim non sentio nisi miseriam, ibi non haberem [*read* habeo]† nisi magnam gloriam."

Porro ipsi ut predictum est, qui eum interrogaverunt, sepe in noctibus angelos in habitaculo illo, quo quiescebat senex, circa eum cantantes de suo dormitorio audierunt. Cantus eorum hunc habebat modum: "Beatus es tu et beatus est dens tuus, qui est in ore tuo, quem nunquam tetigit cibus delectabilia." Ejus enim cibus erat sal et panis siccus; aqua frigida erat potus. Qui tandem, ut optavit, feliciter ad dominum migravit.

Hoc autem sciendum est, quod et tempore sancti Patricii et aliis postea temporibus, multi homines illud purgatorium introiverunt [*read* intraverunt],† quorum alii reversi sunt, et alii nunquam redierunt, quia omnino ibi perierunt. Redeuntium autem narra-

Sunt par lur vieillesce e endieble.
105c Ici nus dit de cest priur,
Qu'il fist faire pres del durtur
Un habitacle u il mansist, 395
Qu'il a ses freres ne nuisist,
Ne ne grevast pur sa fieblesce,
Ses aages, ne sa vieillesce.
Li chanoigne de la maisun
Le mistrent suvent a raisun: 400
"Beals pere, pur Deu, dites nus
Cum bien volez vivre entre nus?"
Li seinz priurs lur respondi:
"Mielz amereie aillurs qu'ici;
Ici ai jo peine e dolurs, 405
Joie e deliz avrai aillurs."

Icist frere qui a lui vindrent
La voiz oïrent e retindrent
Des angles Deu a lui parlanz,
Lui e sa dent benefissanz: 410
"Frere, tu es benefiez,
E cele denz que vus avez,
Qu'unques viande ne mascha,
Ne ne senti ne n'atucha
Qui al quer venist a delit, 415
U tu eüsses nul profit."
En sa viande n'out il el
Fors ewe freide, pain e sel.
Tost apres ço morut icist:
S'alme rendi a Jhesu Crist. 420

105d SEIGNURS, si cum dit li escriz,
Plusurs genz el tens Seint Patriz,
[E] en altres tens altresi,
Issi cum nus avums oï,
Dedenz l'espurgatoire entrerent, 425
E puis apres s'en retournerent.
Meinz en i out [de] retenuz,

*So K; A jocando; Clg jocandi. †AK.

392 veillesce; endieble.—394 Kil; dortur.—395 E hab. on.—396 Kil.—398 veillescesce.—399 chanoigne.—400 sonent.—

401 Beau pierre.—402 bie.—404 kici.—412 dent; auns.—413 Ke unkes.—416 Ou.—417 ta.—419 morust.—421 cume.—423 autres; autresi.—424 cume.—427 E; e nuit.

tiones et dicta a canonicis loci illius
sunt [f. 136b] in monasterio scripta.

III. Est autem talis consuetudo, tam
a sancto Patricio quam ab ejus successo-
ribus constituta, ut purgatorium illud
nullus introeat, nisi qui ab episcopo, in
cujus episcopio est, licentiam habeat, et
qui propria voluntate illud intrare
[pro]* purgacione peccatorum suorum
eligat. Qui dum ad episcopum [vene-
rit]* et affectum suum ei manifestave-
rit, prius eum episcopus hortatur, ut a
tali proposito revertatur, dicendo ei,
quod multi introierunt, qui nunquam
redierunt: et si sit [i. e., sic] in propo-
sito perduraverit, preceptis litteris epis-
copi, ad locum pergit. Quas cum prior
loci perceperit, et hominis voluntatem
connoverit, mox illi purgatorium intrare
dissuadet, et ut aliam penitentiam eli-
gat admonet, ostendens, quod multi pe-
rierunt de eis qui illud introierunt. Et
si post horum ostencionem in proposito
viderit eum anima [read omnino]†
persistere, facit eum ecclesiam tunc in-
trare, ut .XV. in ea diebus sit in [jeju-
niis, et]‡ orationibus intentus.

Circa finem vero horum dierum con-
vocat prior loci vicinum clerum, sit[us]-

*AK. †K. ‡BClg.
429 Cels ke; cunterent.—430 chanoine.—431 autre.—432
Kil ne; neent.—433 si; dist; aukes.—434 Ke; fud costumes.
—435 eins uoleint.—437 eueske.—438 conf.—439 conf.—440
leueske.—443 ad.—444 Ke iameis; neuu.—446 Ces. (Line 454

Qui furent periz e perduz.
Cil qui revindrent recunterent,
Li chanoigne tut embreverent, 430
Pur edifier altre gent
E qu'il n'en dutassent niënt.

E ci nus dit il alques plus,
Que ço esteit custume e us:
Cil qui enz voleient entrer 435
E l'espurgatoire espruver,
A l'evesque durent aler
E lur cunfessiun mustrer.
E apres la cunfessiun,
Lur fereit l'evesques sermun: 440

"Seignurs, pur Deu, n'i entrez pas;
De la aler n'est mie gas.

Mulz en i a de retenuz,
Qui ja mais n'en erent *venuz*."
Mais quant verreit certainement 445
Cels tenir lur purposement,
Par lettres les enveiereit

106a Al priur, si li mandereit
Qu'il preist d'els e garde e cure,
E meist en la fosse obscure. 450

Quant esteient a lui venuz,
E il les avreit receüz,
De lessier cel purpensement
Les enortereit bonement,
E qu'il penitence preissent, 455
E en cest siecle la feissent.

Quant il nes purreit tresturner
Que il n'i volsissent entrer,
Dedenz l'iglise les mettreit,
E quinze jurs les i tendreit 460

En jetunes e oraisuns,
En veilles e afflicciuns.

Puis mandereit clers del pais,
E partie de ses amis;

was inserted here by mistake and then stricken out.)—447
enuerreit.—448 lur mandreit.—449 Kil; de els; garde.—
450 fosse.—452 auereit.—453 lesser.—455 kil.—456 Kil.—461
e en oreisuns.—462 e en.

que [i. e. sicque] missa in ecclesiam marie [read mane]* celebratur, ad quam hoc [read homo]† sacra communione munitur; aqua exorzizata exorcizatus [read exorcismis]† ad hoc officium a beato Patricio et successoribus suis constitutis, aspergitur, et processione et letanie cantu ad ostium predicti purgatorii adducitur; et tunc prior, coram omnibus ei ostium aperiens, et infestationem demonum et multorum, qui illam fossam introierunt et nunquam redierunt, denuntiat[em]* perdicionem et periculum. Et si adhuc intrare voluerit, percepta ab omnibus sacerdotibus benedictione[m], et omni[um]* se commendans orationi, propriaque se manu signo crucis signans, ingreditur; moxque a priore ostium obseratur. Sicque processio ad ecclesiam revertitur, et iterum mane de ecclesia[m] ad ostium fosse regreditur ostiumque [a]* priore aperitur, et si homo reversus invenitur, in ecclesiam introducitur et iterum .XV. aliis diebus in ea orationi est intentus. Quod si eadem hora, qua ingressus est, die altera reversus non invenitur, eum certissime omnino perisse sciunt. Sicque ostio a priore obserato, omnes pariter recedunt.

Matin fereit messe chanter 465
 E cels desqu'a l'altel mener,
 Pur estre i acommuniez
 E beneëscuz e seigniez.
 L'ewe beneëite sur els
 Jetouent li clerc e [sur] cels; 470
 Od precessiun e od chant,
 Si [cum] custume esteit devant,
 A la porte tut dreit menouent,
 Si l'ovreient e desfermouent.
 La sermunereit li priurs; 475
 Si lur musterreit les dolurs
 Que dedenz cel liu trovereient,
 E que ja mais ne revendreient
 S'il n'eüssent ferme creance
 En Deu, e veraie esperance. 480
 E si direit qu'al tens Patriz
 En i aveit il de periz.
 Cil qui ç'aveient purposé,
 E en c'esteient affermé,
 E ne volstrent pur lui partir, 485
 Il lur ireit la porte ovrir;
 Cil fereient la croiz sur els,
 E enterreient devant cels;
 Puis clorreient pres els l'entrée;
 En l'iglise de Deu amée 490
 Ireient tuit li clerc ariere
 E fereient pur els prelere.
 El demain vendreient oïr
 Li quels em purreit revenir.
 Se alguns en fust revenuz 495
 A joie serreit recetüz;
 Puis demurreit, el Deu servise,
 Pleinement quinzeine en iglise;
 Puis cuntterit de s'aventure,
 E serreit mise en escripture. 500
 E cil qui n'en fust revenuz—
 Bien saveient qu'il fu perduz.

* ABCI_gK. † AK.

463 mandreit; du.—465 freit lum.—466 desque al autel.
 —468 benescuz; segnez.—469 beneite; hels.—470 Jeterent.—
 473 menereient.—474 defermeient.—476 lui mustreit.—477

Ko.—478 ke lameis.—480 uerrele.—481 dit kal.—482 des.—
 486 irreit.—488 enterreient.—491 Irreient tut; drec arrere.
 —492 ferreient.—495 Si alguns.—499 cuntterit; sa av.—
 502 kil fust.

IV. Contigit hiis temporibus nostris, diebus scilicet Stephani [fo. 137a] regis, militem unum nomine Oweni, de quo presens est narracio, ad episcopum, in cujus episcopatu prefatum purgatorium e[st], confessionis gratia, pervenire. Quem cum pro peccatis increparet, et illum graviter Deum offendisse diceret, miles graviter doluit atque condigna penitencia Deo satisfacere excogitavit. Quumque episcopus ei penitenciam, secundum quod sibi videbatur, injungere voluisset, respondit:

"Dum, ut asseris, factorem meum in tantum offensum ha beam, penitenciam omnibus penitentiis graviolem assumam. Quam [cum?]* quidem non [read ut]† remissionem merear[e] peccatorum accipere, Purgatorium sancti Patricii volo introire."

* J Qm (= K). † ACIGK.

504 cume.—505 Ken; un produm.—506 fud; Owens.—509 eueake.—510 Ou li purgatoires.—511 Owens; conf.—512 souent.—514 Contre.—515 eueakes; kil.—516 coment.

EL tens le rei Estefne dit,
Si cum nus trovum en escrit,
En Yrlande esteit uns prozdum: 505
Chevaliers fu, Oweins out nun;
De qui nus volums ci parler,
E la dreite estoire mustrer.
A l'evesque de cel pais
U l'espurgatoires ert mis, 510
Vint Oweins a cunfession,
De ses pechiez querre pardun;
Kar mult aveit suvent ovré
Cuntre Deu en grant cruelté.
L'evesques olt ço qu'il dist, 515
E cument il se regehist.
Mult le blasma qu'il out esté
En itel oeuvre e demuré:
Par ses pechiez out irascu
Sun creatur e offendu. 520
Li chevaliers pur ses pechiez
Fu mult tristes e esmalez;
Pense que digne penitence
Fera sulunc la Deu consence.
L'evesques li voleit duner, 525
Sulunc ço qu'il l'olt parler,
Penitence de ses pechiez.
Dunt il petist estre alegiez.
Li chevaliers li dist briefment:
"Sire evesques, nen voeil niënt 530
Legierement espeneir,
Ne tel penitence souffrir.
Trop ai forfait a mun seignur
E offendu mun creatur;
Pur ço eslirai, par licence, 535
La plus *grevuse* penitence;
A l'espurgatoire en irai
Seint Patriz, e la enterrai,
Que jo seie de mes pechiez
E delivres e espurgiez." 540

—517 blama kil.—518 tel oure; demore.—522 Fud.—523 ke.—524 solum.—525 leueakes; doner.—526 Solum; kil.—528 pust.—529 lui; brefment.—530 eueake; noll neent.—531 espeneir.—535 p. Deu l.—536 grieue.—537 irrai.—538 enteral.—539 Ke.

Episcopus ei hoc excogitare dissuasit, set virilis animi miles dissuacioni episcopi minime concessit. Dixit ei episcopus quod multi in eo perierunt, qui illud purgatorium introierunt, set viri [*read* vere]* militis nullus terror flectere potuit animum. Admonuit episcopus ubi [*read* ut]† monachorum vel regularium clericorum susciperet habitum, set se respondit non hic (*sic*) esse facturum, donec prefatum introisset purgatorium.

Cum igitur episcopus vidisset eum nullo modo posse a proposito flecti, per ipsum mittens epistolam, mandavit ecclesie illius priori, quatinus erga illum ageret, sicut erga hominem, qui purgatorium intrare[*t, agi*]‡ debuisset. Prior proponens ei aliorum in eo perditionem et periculum, voluit a proposito militis flectere animum. Set quia ex corde penituit se deum offendisse, flecti non potuit a proposito ulla admonicione; per instantiam desiderii ardentis vicit dissuacionem prioris. Prior igitur eum in ecclesiam duxit, in qua .XV. secundum morem diebus [je-juniis et]|| orationibus vacavit; sicque a fratribus et clero vicino ad hoc convocato, missa mane celebratur, ad quam

Li evesques l'amonesta
De ço lessier que il pensa:
" N'est pas a aler cuvenable
La u cunversent li diable;
Hum set bien que mult i entrerent 545
Qui unques puis n'en retournerent."
Nule poür de peine avoir
Ne puet sun corage moveir.
Li evesques vit sun corage:
Si l'enorta qu'a moniage 550
Se mesist entre bone gent,
U od chanoignes en cuvent;
Puis purreit plus setrement
Faire le suen purposement.
Il li respunt que nun fera: 555
Ja altre habit n'en recevra,
Fors tel cume il aveit eü
Des i qu'il ait cel liu ven.

107a QUANT l'evesques si fermement
Vit qu'il tint sun purpensement, 560
Al prior de cel liu manda,
Par escrit qu'il li enveia,
Que cel chevalier recueillist
E el purgatoire mesist,
Issi cum il faire deveit 565
E cume la custume esteit.
Li chevaliers vint al prior,
Il le reçut par grant amur
E mult li dist e sermuna
Qu'il laissast ço que il pensa: 570
" Trop i a grant oppressiun
D'aler en tel perdiciun."
Tant ert fervenz en sun desir,
Ne l'en puet li priurs partir,
Od lui l'amena en l'iglise, 575
Si cume custume est assise.

* ClgK. † ACIgK. ‡ K. | Clg.

541 eueskes.—542 lesser kil.—543 couen.—544 ou conv.—545 Hom siet; ke mulz.—546 ke unke; ne.—547 aue r (i erased).—548 mouer.—549 eueskes.—550 len orat ka.—551 Si.—552 Ou; couent.—553 purreit il.—555 lui; ke; fera (e

partly erased).—556 autre.—557 laueit.—558 De ci kil.—559 leueske; ferment.—560 kil tut.—562 kil lui.—563 Ke.—564 Alespurgatoire e le.—569 lui; sermona.—570 Kil leissast; kil.—571 ai.—573 lamenad.—576 costume.

miles communicatus ad fosse introitum,
aqua benedicta aspersus, cum proces-
sione et letanie cantu est ductus.

Quinze jurs l'i fist demurer,
Orer, veillier e jeûner.
Quant i out esté quinze dis,
Si manda les clers del pais; 580
Matin li firent messe oïr
E escuter tut a loisir.
Puis reçut od devociun
Le cors Deu od beneïçun;
L'ewe beneïte jetterent 585
Desur lui, apres l'amenerent
107b Od letanie, od oraisun,
E od bele processun,
El liu u il deveit entrer:
Forment se hasta de [l']aler. 590

Et aperto a priore ostio, sic coram
omnibus dixit eidem viro: "Ecce hic
est locus ille, quem cupis introire, set
[si]* nostris adquireveris consiliis, ab
hoc proposito omnino reverteris et
vitam tuam in hec scelo [i. e., seculo]
[fo. 137b] alio corriges modo. Hic
enim multi introierunt, qui nunquam re-
dierunt, quia per fidei inconsta[n]tiam
et tormentorum intollerantiam et cor-
pore et anima[m] perierunt. Quod si
intrare volueris, dicam tibi quid tamen
in primo loco invenies." Quo respon-
dente: "Pro peccatis meis intrabo
a[b]sque retraccione!" sic dictum ac-
cepit a priore:

Li pruis a l'us desfermé;
Devant tuz a dit e parlé
Al chevalier, si li mustra
L'entrée e puis li sermuna:
"Amis, certes si tu creïes 595
Noz conseilz, ja n'i enterreïes:
Bien puez ci ta vie amender,
E Deu servir e honurer.
Mult i sunt entré e perdu;
Ne sout hum qu'il sunt devenu 600
Kar n'orent pas ferme creance,
Bone fei, ne dreite esperance;
Ne porent souffrir les turmenz,
Pur ço remestrent il dedenz:
Par les granz turmenz que il virent 605
Deu oblièrent e perdirent.
Si vus sur ço volez entrer
Que vus m'olez ici cunter,
Primes vus ferai ci oïr
Ço que vus est [a] avenir." 610
Li chevaliers li respondi:
"J'i enterrai, en Deu m'afi,
Pur mes pechiez espenêr,
E que jo puisse a Deu plaisir."

*AK.

578 ueiller; iuner.—579 il.—581 lui.—582 escuter.—584
beneicun.—585 beneite.—587 oreisun.—589 ou.—590 le.—591
ad.—592 ad.—596 cheualer; lui.—594 le sermona.—596 Nos

conseils; entreies.—597 pos.—599 entre.—600 hom kil.—
604 remistrent.—605 kil.—606 Ke.—611 cheualers lui.—612
J o ienterrai.—613 espenir.—614 ke; pleisir.

107c Li priurs dist: "Entendez, sire, 615
Ço que vus vueil mustrer e dire:

"Ecce nunc in nomine domini intrabis, et per gravitatem [*read* cavitatem]* terre tamdiu ambulabis, donec in campum unum exhibis, in quo invenie[n]s aulam unam artificiose fabricatam. Quam cum intraveris, ex parte Dei statim nuncios habebis, qui tibi quid facies pie indicabunt, et sic te solum relinquentes, de aula exhibunt. Sic enim scriptum habetur evenisse eis qui introierunt antea.

"EL nun de Deu, que vus creëz,
En ceste fosse vus mettez;
Par le crois de la terre irez
Tant qu'en un grant champ enterrez; 620
Une grant sale i trovez,
Bien ovrée, si enterrez.
Mult sont d'ovraigne qui la fist
E qui si faitement l'asist.
Dedenz la maisun vus serrez 625
Atant bons messages avrez;
De part Deu a vus parlerunt,
E si vus recunforterunt,
Si vus enseignerunt assez
Iço que vus faire devez. 630
Après ço s'en departirunt
E a Deu vus cumanderunt.
Hastivement avrez après
Cruëls messages e malves.
Ço nus unt dit e cunet 635
Icil qui de la sunt venu:
Nus le velmes en escrit,
Issi cume jol vus ai dit."

Vir autem virilem gerens animum in pectore, quod etiam alios absorbuerat, non formidat periculum. Vis in tantum [*read* interni?]+ pro peccatis doloris contempnit universa, que ei ostenduntur verbis. Culpe que ab eo sentiuntur intrinsecus contempnunt tormenta que audit exterius. Armis ferreis munitus qui bello jam interfuit hominum, nunc fide, spe et iusticia ornatus, ad pugnam audacter prorumpit demonum. Prius namque sese oracioni

Li ber mustra mult bel semblant,
E devant tuz dist en oant: 640
Qu'il n'out dute de cel peril,
Qui les altres mist en eissil;
107d Kar la force de la dolur
Des pechiez, dunt il a poür,
Despit, qu'il nes voleit oïr 645
Ne sun purpensement guerpir.
Li grant mesfait de ses pechiez,
Dunt sis cors ert pleins e chargiez,
Ne redutent mie a suffrir
Peine e turment pur Deu plaisir. 650

*K; Concavitatem AClg. †A; K = J.

616 uoill.—617 creies.—620 kan; entres.—622 ouere; entres.—623 de oueralgne.—624 faitement.—625 Tant de.—

628 reconf.—632 comand.—635 coneu.—638 lai a uns.—641 kil.—642 autres.—644 ad.—645 kil.—648 ses; charges.—649 reduta.—650 pleisir.

omnino [*read* omnium]* commendavit,
sicque dextera elevata fronti sue sig-
num sancte crucis impressit, atque
confidenter hilariter per portam intra-
vit. Quam prior statim foras obseravit,
sicque processio in ecclesiam rediit.

Cil qui devant fu bien armez
D'armes de fer e aturnez,
E qui aveit grant hardement
En estur pur veintre la gent,
Or s'ert armez en tel mesure 655
Dunt li diables n'eüst cure:
De fei e de bone esperance
E de justise e de creance.
Par icestes vertuz, sanz faille,
Veintra le diable en bataille. 660
Il dist a tuz: "Prelez pur mei,"
Puis fist la croiz par devant sei.
Hardiement, od bon semblant,
En la fosse se mist avant!
La porte a li priurs fermée, 665
Si s'en departent de l'entrée;
Vunt s'en od la processium
El mustier e funt oraisun
Que Deus ait pitié e merci
Del chevalier dunt jo vus di. 670

V. Novam itaque exercens militiam, 108a
pergit miles audacter, licet solus, ac
diutius per foveam. Ingravescens
magis ac magis tenebris, lucem amisit
tocius claritatis. Tandem ex adverso
lux parvula cepit eunti interesse [*read*
nitescere]† viro. Pergens itaque per
foveam subterraneam tandem ad cam-
pum predictum pervenit et aulam. Lux
ibi non habebatur nisi qualis hic in
vespentinis horis in hyeme habetur.
Aula parietem in se non habebat inte-
grum, quia columpnis et archiolis undi-
que erat constructus, quasi monachorum
claustrum. Cumque circa aulam diu-
tius ambulasset, mirando ejus structu-
ram [fo. 138a] mirabilem, ingrediebatur
intus et vidit infra ejus septa eam

Li chevaliers pas ne s'esfreie.
Par mi la fosse tient sa veie;
Ore hantera, n'en dutez mie,
Novele e fort chevalerie.
Merveille est qu'il est a setür; 675
Cum il plus va, plus est obscur!
Tute pert humaine veüe;
Altre clartez li est venue;
Petite fu, mais nepurquant
Par cele tint la veie avant. 680
Tant a erré par desuz terre,
Qu'il vint al champ qu'il alout querre.
Une maisun vit bele e grant,
Dunt il oït parler devant.
Tel lumiere a iluec trovée 685
Cum est d'yvern en l'avesprée.
Icist palais [n']aveit en sei
Entur, une entiere parei:

* AClg.; K hominum. † K.
651 fud.—652 De armes.—653 Ore.—661 proes.—665 ad.—
666 se dep.—667 Uont.—668 mustier; oraisun.—669 Ke; eit

pité.—671 coeualers; sefreie.—673 hanterat; ne.—674 forte.—
675 kil; assure.—678 autre clarte lui.—679 fud.—681 ad.—682
Kil; kil.—685 lumere ad iluec.—686 de yv.—687 Icist palais.

mirabiliorem. Sedens igitur in aula, oculos huc illucque jactavit, admirans pulcritudinem et apparatus quem in ea vidit. Sicut enim ille estimavit in hoc seculo aula talis visa vel facta ab homine nunquam fuit.

Cum itaque aliquamdiu in ea solus sedisset, ecce XV^{ti} viri, quasi religiosi et nuper rasi, albis vestibus vestiti, domum illam intraverunt; et, salutantes eum in nomine Domini, consederunt et tacentibus aliis unus cum eo sic loquebatur, qui quasi prior et dux eorum esse videbatur: "Benedictus sit omnipotens Deus, qui in corde tuo bonum propositum misit, et ipse in te perficiat bonum quod incepit: et quoniam ad hoc Purgatorium pro peccatis tuis venisti, nisi [*read ut*]* ab ipsis purgeris, aut viriliter agere ex necessitate compelleris, aut per inertiam anima et corpore peribis. Mox enim, ut egressi fuerimus hanc domum, replebitur immundorum multitudo demonum, qui gravia tibi inferent tormenta, et minabuntur graviora inferre. Ad portam, qua introisti, illesum te ducturus (*sic*)

[Fu] fait a piliers e a arches,
A vulsurs e a wandiches (?): 690
Cloistre resemblout environ,
Cum a gent de religiun.
Li chevaliers s'esmerveilla
De l'ovraigne qu'il esguarda.
Quant le palais out esguardé 695
Dehors, e tut entour alé,
Hastivement dedenz entra;
Assez plus s[ei] esmerveilla
108b De ço qu'il a dedenz veü.
A tant s'assist loant Jhesu; 700
Ses oeilz turna e sus e jus,
Esmerveilla sei, ne pout plus;
Ne quida pas, c'en est la sume,
Que cil oevre fust de main [d']hume.

IL n'i aveit guaires esté 705
Quant en la sale sunt entré
Quinze persones, simplement
Res e tundu novelement;
Blans vestemenz orent vestuz.
De part Deu li distrent saluz; 710
Lez lui s'assistrent environ
En semblant de religiun;
Tuit se turent, li uns parla,
Mestre e priur d'els resembra.
Al chevalier dist dulcement: 715
"Beneëiz Deus omnipotent
Qui a si bon purposement
Mis en tun quer e hardement;
Tun purpos e ta volenté
Parfacé il par sun bunté; 720
E si te quart par sun plaisir,
Qu'ariere puisses revenir.
Ci venez pur vus espurgier
De voz pechiez e alegier;
Barnilment t'estuet cuntenir, 725

*ClgK.

690 nounsura.—694 oueraigne kil.—695 palais.—696 A ses.
—696 kil ad.—701 ois turnat.—702 Merueillat.—703 summe.
—704 Ke; oure.—805 gueres.—708 tundu.—709 Blancs.—710

par; lur.—711 sasistrent.—712 semblance.—714 priura.—715
cheualer; ducement.—716 Beneit seit.—722 Karere.—725
testot.

si eis ut revertaris assenseris, promittent, conantes si vel hoc modo te deciperi (*sic*) possint;

et si quolibet modo, vel tormentorum afflictione victus, vel minis teritus, seu promissis deceptus, assensum illis prebueris, et corpore et anima pariter peribis. Si autem fide firmatus spem totam in Domino posueris, ita ut nec tormentis eorum nec minis nec promissis cesseris, sed ex corde toto illos contempseris, non solum ab omnibus actualibus peccatis tuis purgaberis, sed etiam tormenta, que parata sunt peccatoribus pro peccatis, et requiem, in qua iusti letantur, videbis.

U ici t'estuvra perir:
 108c Cors e alme en perdiciun
 Larras sanz fin de reançun.
Ferme creance aies en tei;
 Retien ço que tu oz de mei: 730
 C'i endroit, quant nus en iruns,
 En cest país sul te lerruns;
 Grant multitude verras
 Des diables, n'en dute pas,
 Qui granz turmenz te musterrunt, 735
 De greignurs te manacerunt.
 Si en lur conseil vus metez
 E si creire les en volez,
 Il [vus] promettrunt veirement
 Que hors vus merrunt salvement, 740
 A l'entrée dunt vus venistes,
 Quant dedenz cest clos vus mesistes.
 Si vus quiderunt engignier;
 De ço vus vueil bien acointier.
 Si vus creëz lur faus sermun, 745
 Si irez en perdiciun:
 Si par menace u par turment,
 U par malvais blandissement
 Estes esmalez ne vencuz,
 Finalement estes perduz. 750
 S'en Deu avez ferme creance,
 En ses nuns e en sa puissance,
 E ne selez espoëntez
 Des manaces que [vus] orrez,
 108d E les pramesses nun verables 755
 Ne creëz, *que* sunt decevables!
 Mes despisiez els e lur diz,—
 Si serrez tensez e guariz;
 Puis serrez de tuz voz pechiez
 E delivres e espurgiez. 760
 Les granz turmenz e la dolur
 U sunt livré li pecheür
 Pur les oeuvres d'iniquité
 U il se furent aturné,

726 Ou; testuratur.—728 rancun.—729 Femme.—731 I endroit; irruns.—734 nel.—735 grant; musterrunt.—737 conseil.—740 Ke.—743 engigner.—744 uoil; acointier.—746 irren.—747

ou.—748 Ou; malvais.—751 Si en.—753 espantes.—756 kil.—757 despises.—762 Ou.—763 oures de iniq.—764 Ou.

Semper igitur in memoria habeas Deum; et cum te cruciaverint, invoca Dominum Jhesum Christum, et per invocacionem hujus nominis, statim liberaberis a quocunque tormento in quo fueris. Tecum vero hic amplius non possumus [fo. 138, b] esse. Deo omnipotenti te commendamus."

Sicque benedictione data viro, recesserunt ab eo. VI. A viris itaque istis remanet ibi miles solus, ad novi generis militiam instructus; qui quidem oppugnans (*sic*) olim homines, jam presto est certare contra demones; armis Christi munitus, expectat quis demonum illum provocet ad bellum prius. Justicie lorica munitur, ac scuto fidei protegatur; spe victorie salutis[que]* eterne mens, ut capud galea, redimitur; habet et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, devote invocando Dominum Jhesum Christum, quatinus regio munimine ipse sic sepiatur, ut adversariis infestantibus non superetur.

*ClgK.

766 autre.—768 Ou; conv.—774 souent.—778 ke.—780 Gardes ke.—781 deliure.—784 Comandum.—786 partirent.—787

Verrez apertement ici; 765
E les granz joies altresì,
E les repos e la dulçur
U cil cunversent sanz doloir
Qui Deu servirent e amerent
E en bones oeuvres finerent. 770
E aiez tuz jurs en memoire
Deu qui est sire e reis de gloire.
Quant il vus mettrunt en turment,
Jhesu Crist reclamez suvent:
Par l'apel de cel nun puissant 775
Serrez delivres maintenant,
En quel liu que seiez menez,
E quel turment que vus sentez.
Le nun Jhesu Crist apelez;
Gardez que vus ne l'obliëz; 780
Delivres serrez par cel nun:
Par la Deu grace le savum.
109a Ne potîms plus od vus ci estre:
Cumandum vus al rei celestre."

APRES cele benediçun 785
S'en *departirent* li barun.
Li chevaliers remest sultis,
Appareilliez e ententis
De novele bataille emprendre,
Par quei puisse a Deu l'alme rendre. 790
Cil [qui] se cumbati suvent
Par prûesce cunte la gent,
Apretez s'est e cuvenables
De cumbatre cunte diables.
Bonement en Deu esperant, 795
Atent li quel vendrunt avant.
Des armes Deu s'est bien armez,
E bien guarniz e aturnez:
Halberc de justise out vestu,
Par quei le cors out defendu 800
De l'engin de ses enemis;
E l'escu de fiance out pris.

cheualers remis sultis.—788 Apparillez.—790 quei a deu.—
791 combati souent.—792 prouesce contre.—793 couenables.
—794 combatre contre.—799 Hauberc.

Nec illum boni Jhesu pietas fefellit,
qui confidentes in se fallere non con-
suevit. Cum ita instructus atque in
domo solus sederet, oratioque in parvula
[for animoque impavido]* pugnam de-
monum expectaret,

subito circa domum cepit audiri
tumultus quasi totus commoveretur
mundus. Etenim si omnes homines
et omnia animalia et bestie simul con-
vocarentur, et suis vocibus pariter
tumultuarentur, ut sibi visum est, ma-
jorem tumultum non facerent. Unde
nisi divina pietate protegeretur, et a
viris predictis commodius instrueretur,
ipso tumultu amentaretur. Et ecce
post horridum sonitum talis auditus,
subsequitur et horribilis demonum visus.
Visibiliter undique etenim cepit multi-
tudo innumera demonum forma[rum]†
[et] deformium in domum illam irruere,
cachinando ac deridendo illum salutare,
et ita ei quasi per opprobria dicere:

*K. †ClgK.

808 Haume.—804 L autre.—805 Espeie ad.—806 cume;
liures.—808 Ki; nomer.—809 lui fud; seint nun eidables.—
810 Kil; sonent.—811 Kil.—813 pitie.—814 (doleur after sa,
and then stricken out).—815 fait; null kil.—816 Ne sa;

Healme out fait de ferme creance;
L'autre armetüre d'esperance;
Espée a del seint espirit, 805
Si cum [li] livre le nus dit;
C'est la parole Jhesu Crist,
Qui de sun nun numer l'aprist.
Mult li fu cil seinz nuns aidables
Quil rescust suvent des diables 810
109b Qu'il ne fust periz ne tenuz,
Ne par lur grant turment vencuz.

La pitiez de sun [bon] seignur
Nel deçut pas en sa tristur;
Nun fait ele nului qui l'eimt, 815
N'en sun grant bosoing la recleimt.
Issi armez cum jo vus di,
Li chevaliers suls attendi
Les batailles espoëntables
Qu'il fera encuntre diables. 820

IL n'i aveit guaires esté
Quant a oi e esculté
Une tel noise e uns tels criz,
Cum si li munz fust esturmiz;
Que si tuit li hume del munt, 825
Oisel e bestes que i sunt,
A une voiz criassent tuit,
N'i eüst mie greignur bruit.
Si ne fust de Deu la vertuz,
De laquel il s'esteit vestuz, 830
E li cunfort qu'il ont eüz
Des seinz baruns qu'aveit veüz,
Hors del sen fust [e] afolez,
Chaüz aval e estunez.
Après la grant noise e le sun, 835
Entrerent tuit en la maisun;
Od hidus embrulssemenz
Sur lui rechignierent lur denz.

bosoig.—817 cume.—818 cheualers.—819 espuntables.—820
Kil ferad'encontre.—821 gueres.—822 ad; escute.—823 tele.
—824 Cume.—825 Ke; tut; home.—826 Oisels; ke.—830 la-
quele; se ert.—831 les confors kil.—832 kaveit.—833 rechin-
nerent.

- 109c Desur tute altre creature
Esteit horrible lur figure; 840
Trestuit issi desfiguré
L'unt par grant eschar salué;
Quant il l'aveient salué,
Par reproeche unt a lui parlé:
- "Alii homines, qui nobis serviunt,
non nisi post mortem ad nos veniunt.
Unde eo magis debemus tibi grates
scire, et maiorem mercendem [*sic*] pro
servitio tuo tibi reddere, quia nostram
societatem studiose non deseruisti sed
in tantum honorare voluisti, ubi [*read*
ut]* sicut alii homines, diem mortis
nolueris expectare, sed vivendo totum
corpus tuum et animam nobis tradere.
Ut maiorem mercedem a nobis accipe-
res, hoc fecisti; recipies a nobis habun-
danter que meruisti. Huc venisti, ut
pro peccatis tuis tormenta sustineres;
[fo. 139a] habebis nobiscum pressuras
et dolores. Verumtamen pro eo, quod
nobis servieris, si nostris acquiescas
[*read* acquiescendo?]* consiliis, reverti
volueris, hoc pro munere tibi faciemus,
quod ad portam, qua intrasti, illesum
te deducemus, quatinus vivens adhuc
in mundo gaudeas, ne totum quod
suave est corpori tuo funditus amittas."
- 109d Lung tens purrez el siecle vivre,
E voz deliz faire a delivre.
Si mielz amez a remaneir
Qu'ariere aler e joie aveir, 870
Cruëls peines e grief turment
Avrez od nus finablement."
- Issi faitierement parlouent
Li diable e amonestouent

* BClgK.

839 autre.—841 Trestut; desfigurez.—842 saluez.—844 reproche.—845 home.—846 demorant.—847 Uenent.—849 uifs. 851 louer.—852 kanez.—853 comp.—856 Ke uifs.—857 Autre-

ment auruns.—859 espenir.—861 asoz.—862 Meserie e (olur after e, *stricken out*).—863 ke.—864 conseils crere.—866 me- runs.—868 Ou.—868 uos.—869 melz; remaner.—870 Ke; auer. —871 grefs turmens.—872 finablement.—873 faitierement.

luerunt. Sed Christi miles nec terrore
concutitur nec blandimentis seducitur.
Eodem enim animo Christi miles ter-
rentes contempsit et blandientes, atque
seducentes [*read sedendo*]* omnino
[tacuit]† nec vel unum verbum [eis]*
respondit. Cum [*read con-*]‡tempni
se videntes, fremebant in eum,

struxeruntque in domo maximi in-
cendii rogam. Post hoc manus et
pedes militis lig[*n*]averunt, ligatumque
in ignem projecerunt uncisque ferreis
huc illucque per incendium clamantes
traxerunt. At ille tamen regis sui mi-
nime est oblitus. Cum eum [*read*
enim]|| adversarii [in]|| hoc incendio
conati sunt eum prosternere, quasi a
saltu primo, pii Jhesu nomen invoca-
tum [*read invocabit*]|| sicque se ab eo-
rum saltu defendit. Primum in igne
missus tormentum grave sensit, et in
ipsa angustia bonum nomen nominavit.

Ita vero est extinctus totius incendie
rogus, ut post invocacionem sancti nomi-
nis nec scintilla inveni[r]etur totius ig-
nis. Quod cernens, miles audacior effici-
tur contra hostes: hoc in animo proposuit,
quod eos non formidaret, quos per
invocacionem sancti nominis ita vinci
conspexit.

* K. † K (blank space in J). ‡ A ClgK. | ClgK.

875 Li cheualer ka.—877 Kil; consentir.—873 Ou; ou.—
879 cheualer.—881 blandissement.—882 ke; plaisir.—883 de
eis.—885 kil.—886 chescun.—888 lui.—890 erralment.—891

Le chevalier, qu'a els turnast 875
E sun purposement laissast:
Qu'il volsist a els cunsentir,
U par manace u par blandir.
Mais li chevaliers Jhesu Crist
N'out poür, ne ne se fremist; 880
Ne blandissemenz ne manace
Nel deceit que lur plaisir face.
En pais se sist, n'out poür d'els;
Ne volt un mot parler a els.
Il virent bien qu'il les despist: 885
Hidus semblant chascuns li fist.

UN feu firent de maintenant
En la maisun, merveilles grant.
Piez e meins li liënt forment;
El feu le jettent erranment; 890
Od cros de fer enz le buterent,
Hidusement sur lui crièrent.
Li chevaliers en sa dolor
Apella le nun *sun* seignur.
110a Li enemi qui od lui sunt 895
S'esforcierent qu'el feu parfunt
Le peüssent entr'els tenir,
E sun cors ardeir e bruir.
Quant [il] cel grant turment senti
A Jhesu Crist cria merci; 900
Icil nuns l'a bien defendu
Del premier turment u il fu.

APRES cele invocaciun
Qu'il fist de cel seintisme nun,
Fu delivres, li feus [s']esteint, 905
E icist granz turmenz remeint.

Quant li chevaliers a veü
De Deu la force e la vertu,
En lui s'afie fermement,

cros.—893 cheualers.—894 Apellat; nostre (seignur).—895
Si.—896 Sesforceerunt kel.—897 entre els.—898 arder.—900
criat.—901 lad.—902 ou.—904 Kil.—905 fud; feu.—906 grant.—
907 cheualers ad.

VII. Relinquentes igitur demones domum cum ejulatu et tumultu horrido militem inde traxerunt secum. Ejulantes vero alii ab aliis decesserunt. Quidam eorum militem per vastam regionem diutius traxerunt. Nigra erat terra et regio tenebrosa, nec quicquam nisi demones, qui eum traxerunt, vidit in ea. Ventus autem unus ibi fuit talis qui vix audiri posset sed sui rigiditate* [*read* frigiditate?] sibi videbatur corpus suum omnino perforatum. Versus illum locum traxerunt militem retro [*read* recto]† tramite, quo sol oritur longioribus diebus in estate [fo. 139, b]. Cumque euntes venissent quasi in mundi fine, ceperunt dextrorsum converti et quasi per vallem latissimam contra austrum tendere, scilicet versus locum, quo sol oritur vere et minoribus diebus in hyeme.

Illucque convertendo cepit quasi vulgi tocius terre miserimos clamores, ejulatus fletusque audire: et quo magis illuc approximavit, eo clariores fletuum [*sic*] et multipliciores clamores audivit. Tandem tractu demonum latissimum longissimumque pervenit in campum, dolore ac miseriis plenum. Finis campi illius [prae]‡ sua longitudine non potuit videri a milite. Ille itaque campus hominibus utriusque sexus diverseque etatis, nudis et in terra jacentibus, erat plenus; quorum corpora et corporum

*So ClgK. †K. ‡ClgK.

911 ou.—912 kil.—917 (after terre an f; apparently the scribe began to write "fud").—918 autre.—919 kil.—920 ki; entutr.—922 Ke lui.—924 couint.—926 Ou; soleil naist.—928

E atent plus seurement 910
Les turmenz u il deit entrer,
E ço que il deit trespasser.
Les diables despit sanz faille,
E lur turmenz e lur bataille.

En une waste regiun 915
Le meinent, hors de la maisun,
Dunt la terre ert neire e obscure.

N'i vit nule altre creature
Fors les diables quil menerent,
E qui tut entur lui crièrent. 920

La out un freid vent e serri
Qui li perçout le cors par mi;
110b Il nel poeit niënt oir;
Cest turment li cuvint suffrir.

Desque la l'unt trait e mené 925
U li soleilz naist en esté:

A la fin del siecle le meinent,
Ço li fu vis, par tut le peinent.
Par une veie, grant e lée,
Le trestrent en une valée, 930
Cele part dunt li soleilz surt
En yver, quant li jur sunt curt.

D'ALTRE part, vers le su, a destre,
Li mustrerent perillus estre:
U il le meinent a oiz 935

Gries pleintes e dolurs e criz;
E cum plus ala aprismant,
Plus oï plainte e dolor grant.

En un grant champ l'unt puis mené,
Plein de miseire e d'amerté. 940

Li chevaliers ne pout veïr
La grandur del champ, ne saveir.
De tute maniere de gent
Vit plein cest champ veraïement;
A la terre tuz estenduz 945

lui fud.—933 Dautre.—934 Lui.—935 Ou; ad oï.—936 Grefs; ori.—937 cume; alat aprimant.—940 miserie; de am.—941 cheualers; ueer.—942 saueer.—944 pleins cist; ueraïement.

membra super terra[m] extendebantur, et, ventre verso ad terram, clavis ferreis [*candentibus*] candentibusque per manus ac pedes defixis, miserabiliter tenebantur. Aliqui pro doloris angustia terram commedebant: aliqui cum fletu et ejulatu miserabiliter "parce, parce" vel "miserere" clamabant. Sed qui eorum misereretur, non habebant. Demones etiam inter et subter eos currentes flagris gravioribus eos cedebant. Dicunt illi demones: "Hec tormenta, que vides, sentiendo patieris, nisi nostris acquiesceris (*sic*) consiliis: hoc est, ut a proposito cesses et revertaris; et si ita volueris, ad portam quam intrasti pacifice deducaris, et sic illesus abibis." Ille vero mente retinens qualiter alibi illum Deus ab eis liberavit, eos omnino contempsit. Illi vero illum in terra prostraverunt et clavis figere, ut alii erant, conati sunt; sed invocato Jhesu nomine in loco illo amplius facere non potuerunt.

VIII. Inde ad campum alium ceperunt illum trahere, majora miseria repletum. Iste vero campus hominibus utriusque sexus diverseque etatis, fixis in terra clavis, erat plenus. Inter istos et illos

950 mangerent.—951 Souent; ou.—952 Esparniez.—953 allegast.—954 riens; esparniast.—955 diables.—957 souent. 958 sufferez.—959 voilles.—960 nos conseils.—961 voilles.—962 Laisser.—965 Si od; remanes finement.—968 Cume.—971

Envers, e si esteient nuz.
Od clous der fer e meins e piez
A la terre sunt enfichiez.
Pur l'anguisse de lur dolur,
Mangierent la terre a tristur; 950
110c Suvent diseient *od* haut cri:
"Espargniez nus! merci! merci!"
N'i aveit nul quis alejast,
Ne qui de rien les espargniast;
[E] li diable entr'els alouent, 955
Sis bateient e turmentouent.
Al chevalier diënt suvent:
"Vus sufferrez icest turment,
S'a nus ne vus voilliez tenir,
E a noz cunseilz obeir. 960
Se vus voilliez certainement
Laisser vostre purposement,
Hors vus remerruns seinement;
N'i av[r]ez nul bleuissement.
S'od nus *manez finablement*, 965
Tuz jurs avrez peine e turment."
Il retint bien en sun pensé
Cum Deus l'aveit einz delivré;
Nule rien ne lur respundi,
Einz les despist e sis haï. 970
Envers a terre le metteient,
Tut nu, si cum li altre esteient;
E *si* voleient cloufichier;
Mes il membra al chevalier
Del nun Deu qui l'out delivré; 975
Si a Jhesu Crist reclamé.
Cil turmenz ne li pout nuisir;
Li nuns Deu les fist departir.

110d D'ILUEC le traistrent e menerent,
Dedenz un altre champ entrèrent, 980
U greignurs turmenz a veüz
Qu'en cel dunt il esteit eissuz.
De chascun eage de gent

E uers.—972 cume; autre.—973 sis.—975 ki.—976 ad.—977 lui. 979 iluec.—980 autre.—981 Ou; ad ueu.—982 Kan; eissuz.—983 age.

qui in isto campo fuerant, diversitas erat ista, quod illorum quidem ventres, istorum tere herebant dorsa. Dracones igniti super alios sedebant et quasi commedentes eos modo miserabili dentibus [fo. 140, a] igneis mordebant. Aliorum autem colla, vel brachia, vel corpora, serpentes igniti circumcinxerunt et capita sua pectoribus hominum apponentes, ignitum aculeum oris sui in cordibus hominum finxerunt. Buffones etiam mire magnitudinis et quasi igniti, visi sunt super quorundam pectora insistere et rostra sua deformia infigentes, quasi eorum corda conati sunt extrahere.

Qui itaque in hoc campo clavis fixi erant, a fletu et ejulatu nunquam cessabant. Demones inter et super eos cursitabant, et flagris eos cedendo vehementer cruciabant. Finis [*read Fines*]* campi illius non vidit, quoniam pro longitudine eos videre non potuit, nisi in latitudine, qua intravit et exiit: in transversum campum pertransiit.

*K.

985 culche.—990 autre; cloufiche.—998 ad.—999 autres kil.—991 Les autres.—992 Cloufichies.—993 ou.—994 ces; ad uenus.—995 gisanz.—1002 dolereus.—1006 lui.—1007 Crapous.

Out en cel champ diversement;
A la terre furent culchié, 985
Cume li altre e cloufichié.
Tels esteit la diversitez
De cels qu'en cel champ a trovez,
E des autres qu'il vit devant:
Sur les ventres erent gesant; 990
Li altre geseient envers,
Cloufichié a la terre od fers.
Dedenz cest champ u est venuz,
Plusurs de cels i a veüz
Qui adenz esteient gesanz; 995
Sur els veëit draguns ardanç,
Qui[s] poigneient e turmentouent;
Od denz ardenç les devorouent.
Plusurs i vit qui erent ceint
E de serpenç ardanç estreint 1000
E par les cols e par les braz;
Mult i aveit dolerus laz!
Od lur langues, qui sunt fuïnes,
Percent lur cors e lur peitrines;
Od l'aguësce traient fors, 1005
Ço li ert vis, les quers des cors.
111a Çrapuz i vit, merveilles granz,
Ço li ert vis, trestuz ardanç;
Sur les piz des alquanz seëient,
Od lur bes, qu'horribles aveient, 1010
A grant force erent ententis
De traire les quers des chaitis.
Cil qui erent ici tenz
Es granz turmenç qu'il a veüz,
Ne finerent de doluser, 1015
De griefment pleindre e de plurer.
Li diable sur els cureient,
E flaëloënt e bateient.
Chaitis est cil qui en tel peine,
Par ses pechiez, se trait e meine! 1020
Il ne poeit niënt veër

—1006 lui.—1009 asquans seient.—1010 becs que.—1014 kil ad.—1015 finerent corrected from furent.—1016 greffment.—1021 ueer.

"Hec," inquiunt demones, "que vides, patieris, nisi nobis ut revertaris assenseris." Cumque eos contempsisset, conati sunt sepius sicut et sepius [*read superius*]* clavis eum figere: sed non potuerunt, invocato ab illo nomine Jhesu.

IX. Inde igitur trahentes, illum perduxerunt usque ad tertium campum, miseriis plenum. Iste etiam campus hominibus utriusque sexus diverseque etatis erat plenus, qui ita in terris† clavis ferreis candentibus fixi jacebant, ut [*prae*]* multitudine clavorum ignitorum a capitis summitate[*m*] usque ad digitos pedum locus vacuus non inveniretur, quantum digiti unius summitate tegetur. Isti vix vocem ad clamandum [*formandum*] formare potuerunt, sed sicut homines qui morti proximi utcumque vocem emisissent. Nudi et isti, sicut et ceteri, esse videbantur, et vento frigido et urente flagrisque demonum cruciabantur. "Hec," inquiunt demones, "tormenta patieris, nisi nobis ut revertaris assensum praeberis."

*ClgK. †K terra.

1022 sauer.—1023 kil; fud.—1024 lee; fud.—1025 apelee.—1026 parlee.—1027 ces.—1030 ces.—1031 apelad.—1033 Liluek; treit.—1034 ters; ou.—1035 miserie.—1037 h66.—

La grandur del champ, ne saveir
Fors de tant qu'il i fu entrez,
E *que* de travers fu menez.
Le chevalier unt apelé 1025
Li diable, e a lui parlé:
"Tuz cez turmenz que vus veëz
Avrez, si vus ne nus creëz."
Il les despit, cil s'entremettent:
Cum il en cez turmenz le mettent, 1030
Il apela le nun Jhesu;
Par cel apel delivres fu.

D'ILUEC l'unt trait, si sunt alé
111b Al tierz champ, u il l'unt mené,
Plein de miseire e [de] dolur, 1035
E de criëment e de plur.
De tute maniere d'eé
I aveit gent, a grant plenté;
E jurent adenz e envers,
Fichiez en terre od clous de fers 1040
Ardanz des chies des i qu'as piez;
Par tuz les membres sunt fichiez
Si espes que nuls n'i mettreit
Sun dei qu'a clou n'i tuchereit.
En si tres grant anguisse esteient 1045
Qu'a vis unques criër poeient,
Fors cume gent qui fussent mort;
Tant esteient lur turment fort.
Nuz esteient e li freiz venz
Les turmentout e hors e enz; 1050
E li diable les bateient,
Que nule pitié n'en aveient.
Allas, que nuls deit deservir
Que tel peine *deüst* souffrir!
Après unt li diable dit 1055
Al chevalier, sanz nul respit:
"Itels peines sufferrez vus,
Se vus ne cunsentez a nus;

1038 trop grant plentee.—1041 chiefs de ci kas.—1043 ke.—1044 ka; tichereit.—1046 Kavisunkes.—1047 fuissent mors.—1048 turmens for.—1052 Ke.—1053 ke.—1054 ke; deit.—1056 cheualer.—1057 suffres.—1058 cons.

Et cum eum [contemnentem illorum
commonitiones]* ita clavis figere volu-
erunt, invocavit nomen Christi, et ei
ibi amplius facere non potuerunt.

X. Transeuntes igitur illum locum,
provenerunt in campum quartum multis
ignibus [fo. 140b] plenum, in quo om-
nia genera invenerunt penarum. Alii
suspendebant cathenis igneis per pedes,
alii per manus, alii per capillos, alii per
brachia, alii per tibias, capitibus imis
versis et sulphureis flammis immersis;
alii ignibus [*pendebant*] et uncis ferreis
in oculis vel auribus vel naribus vel
faucibus vel mammillis aut genitalibus
infixis pendebant. Alii fornacibus
sulphureis cremabantur, alii quasi super
cartagines [*read* sartagines]† ureban-
tur, alii verubus igneis infixi assaban-
tur, quos alii demones igni apposito
verterunt; alii diversis metallis degluc-
taverunt [*read* deguttaverunt]‡ li-
quescentibus: demones omnes flagris
tenebant‡; nullis parcere voluerunt.

*Clg (wanting in K). †ClgK. ‡ClgK occiderunt.

1059 lessiez; kauex.—1060 Ou.—1062 cons.—1065 peine.—
1066 ad nome.—1067 ducement (o or r?).—1068 fud; errau-
ment.—1069 sache entreus.—1070 le men.; o eus.—1071 tor-
mens.—1074 Plusurs; chaemes.—1076 dolereus.—1077 mult;

E lessiez ço qu'avez empris,
U turmentez serrez tut vis." 1060

Il desdeigna e si despist
Lur conseilz [e] niënt ne fist.

111c Il le voleient ferm lier
E a la terre cloufichier,
Si cum esteient li pené 1065
Qui la furent: il a numé
Le nun Jhesu Crist dulcement;
Si fu delivres erranment.

TANT l'unt trait e sachié entr'els
Qu'el quart champ menerent od els. 1070

Tute maniere de turmenz
La vit li chevaliers dedenz:
Par les piez esteient pendanz
Plusur, od chaëines ardan; 1075
E par les mains e par les braz
Li plusur, en dolerus laz.

E si aveit [il] mulz de cels
Qui pendirent par les chevels;
Li plusur, les testes aval,
Pendirent en flame enferral 1080
Faite de sulphre qui ne funt,
Par les jambes lié amunt.

Li un pendeient cruëlement
Od cros ardan; diversement:
Par oeilz, par nes, e par oreilles— 1085
De cels i aveit il merveilles—
Par col, par buche e par mentun,
E par mameles, ço trovum,
Par genitailles, par aillurs,
E par les joes les plusurs. 1090

111d Cels vit li chevaliers pendanz
El feu qui est tuz jurz ardan;.
En vit alquanz qui erent mis
En furnaises de sulphre espris;
Alquanz en vit ars e brulz, 1095

ceus.—1073 cheuens.—1081 sunt (?).—1082 gambes liez.—1083
cruement.—1084 cros.—1085 oile.—1086 ceus.—1087 bouche;
menton.—1088 les mam.; trouon.—1090 ioues.—1091 Ceus.—
1093 (follows l. 1094) ascans.—1094 forneises; souphre.—1095
Asquans.

Omnia genera tormentorum, que excogitari possunt, ibi visa sunt. Ibi de sociis suis quosdam cognovit. De ejulatibus et fletibus et clamoribus, quos audivit, nulla vox hominum ex toto loqui sufficit. Hii autem campi non solum cruciatis hominibus, sed etiam excruciantibus demonibus, erant pleni. Cumque illum ibi cruciare voluerunt, nomen Christi invocavit; sicque cruciantibus [se]* extorsit.

XI. Inde igitur descendentes, vidit ante se maximam rotam ferream et igneam, cujus radii et canti unciis igneis undique erant circumfecti, in quibus singulis pendebant quasi homines infixi. Rote vero hujus medietas sursum in aere stabat, alia medietas in terra deorsum erat; flamma autem tetri sulphurei-[que]* incendii de terra circa illam surgebat et pendentes in ea miserrime ardeba[n]t. "Hec," inquit demones, "que isti tolerant, patieris, nisi reverti

*K. †ClgK.

1096 grails.—1097 Asquans.—1098 rostis; souphre.—1100 metaus; eus.—1101 autre.—1103 torment.—1104 Vit cest.—1105 compaignons ad.—1106 kil ad reconeus.—1109 ni porreit mostrer.—1111 champs; solement.—1112 torm.—1113 ert.—1114

Qui sur grailz erent rostiz;
Alquanz en vit mis en espeiz,
E rostiz od sulphre e od peiz.
Li diable les rostisseient,
Divers metals sur els fundeient. 1100
Li altre diable teneient
Maces de fer, sis debateient.
Tute maniere de turment
Veët cist Oweins en present.
De ses cumpaignuns a veüz 1105
Plusurs qu'il a recuneüz,
Qui el siecle aveient esté,
Mes malement orent ovré.
Nuls ne porreit mustrer ne dire
Les plurs, les criz, n'en livre escrire! 1110
Cist chans n'ert mie sulement
Pleins de la turmentée gent;
Einz out des diables plusurs
Qui'n esteient turmenteurs.
Entr'els le pristrent, sil voleient 1115
Turmenter, mes il ne poeient.
Le nun Jhesu Crist reclama,
Par cel nun [il] se delivra.
112a Mult est cist nuns bons a numer,
Par quei um se puet delivrer. 1120
[D']iluec le menerent avant;
Un turment vit merveilles grant:
Une roe ardant e fulne.
Desuz ert la flame sulphrine;
A la roe u li rai sunt mis 1125
Ot cros de fer ardant assis;
Fichiez furent espesement.
Sur cez cros pendeient la gent.
L'une meitiez en terre esteit,
E l'autre en l'air, qui tute ardeit. 1130
Li chaitif qui desus pendeient
En la flame sulphrine ardeient,

Qi en; torm.—1115 Entreus.—1116 Torm.—1117 non.—1118 non.—1119 nons; nomer.—1120 qui on.—1122 torm.—1123 roe ardante.—1124 souphrine.—1125 roe ou al.—1126 Od cros; asia.—1128 ces cros.—1130 lautre; eir que tote.—1132 souphrine.

volueris; que [tamen]* isti tollerant
post [read prius]* nunc videbis."

Demonēs igitur ex utraque parte, alii
contra alios steterunt et alii, in utraque
parte, vectes ferreos inter radios rote
impingentes, rotam levaverunt. Alii ex
alia parte, vectes ferreos impingentes,
deorsum depresserunt tantaque eam
agilitate fecerunt rotare, ut† nullus om-
nino alium posset discernere, quia prae
nimia cursus [fo. 141a] celeritate, vi-
debatur quasi ignis esse.

Planxerunt miserime et fieverunt om-
nes qui rote infixi fuerunt. Cumque
eum super rotam jactassent et eum in
aere rotando levassent, in descensione
rote nomen Christi invocavit et statim
de ea descendit.

Et quia, post invocacionem nominis

*ClgK. †Cy. Clg: ut omnino nullum ab alio visu
posset, etc.

1136 Lui mostr.; torm.—1137 lui.—1138 eus; conuert.—
1139 torm.; estot.—1140 roue.—1141 Ens ke.—1142 mosteruns.
—1143 fait torm.; sunt.—1144 rove.—1146 roue auironant.—

Que de la terre veneit sus,
Si obscure ne poeit plus.
E li diable apertement 1135
Li mustrerent icel turment,
E li diēnt tut en apert
Que s'il a els ne se cunvert,
Cest turment lui estoet souffrir,
E desur la roe venir: 1140

"Einz que desus vus encroīns,
Apertement vus musterruns
Cum fait turment cil chaitif unt
Qui a la roe pendu sunt."
Li diable alerent avant, 1145
Icele roe avirunant.

112b Li un de l'une part esteient,
Li altre encuntre, qui teneient
Granz pels de fer trestut ardan;,
De la terre furent levanz 1150

Icele roe encuntre munt;
Icels li *mustrerent* qu'i sunt.
Plusurs [i] *out* d'autre maniere
Qui la butouent [en] ariere.
Tant la turnoent cruēlment 1155

E tant alout isnelement,
Que nuls ne poeit cels, pur veir,
Qui pendu i erent, veeir,
Pur la flame e pur l'ignelesce.
En grant miseire, en grant tristesse 1160

Furent icil qui la esteient,
E qui cel turment susteneient.
Le chevalier unt entr'els pris,
Si l'unt desur la roe mis;
Cuntre munt le firent lever, 1165

Mais quant il deveit avaler
Si a numé le nun Jhesu:
Tut *erramment* delivres fu.

D'ILUEC le traistrent maintenant,

1148 autre encontre.—1149 Grant.—1151 roue encontre.—
1152 Iceus; mustrent; que.—1153 unt dautre.—1154 bot.—1155
torm.—1157 por.—1158 pendus; veir.—1159 ne.—1160 miserie e
en.—1162 torm.—1163 ont entre eus.—1164 lont; roue.—1166
Contre.—1167 ad nome; non.—1168 Tout errant.

sancti, aliquod ibi facere non potuerunt, inde illum extrahentes processerunt.

XII. Ecce vidit ante se domum unam grandem quasi fumigantem, cujus latitudo fuit nimia, longitudo tanta ut illius non posset videri pars ultima. Cum vero versus illam horribiliter tractus iret et adhuc ab ea aliquantulum longius esse[t,] prae nimio calore, qui inde exhibat, subsistere, nolens* procedere, non abhorruit.

Dixerunt ergo ei demones: "Quid subsistendo tardas? Balnearium est, quod vides: velis nolis, illuc progredieris, [et] ut cum eis, qui ibi sunt, balnieriis." Ceperuntque domo illa miserimi vagitus exiri,† et fletus et planctus audiri. Intrans autem domum illam, vidit visionem duram. Etenim domus illius pavementum rotundis fossis erat plenum, de quibus alia alie ita cohesit quod inter ipsas vix aliquod spatium apparuit. Erant fosse singule metallis diversis ac liquoribus plene bullientibus,

in quibus utriusque sexus diverseque etatis erat demersa hominum multitudo maxima. Quorum alii omnino erant immersi, alii usque ad supercilia, alii usque ad oculos, alii usque ad colla, alii usque ad pectus, alii usque ad umbilicum, alii usque ad femora, alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad

Sil menerent entr'els avant, 1170

Tant qu'il vit loinz une maisun

Fumuse e de trop grant façon.

Tant fu lée e de tel lungur,

Nuls n'en pot choisir la grandur.

112c La le traistrent hidusement. 1175

Loinz ert de cel herbergement,

Quant la chalur senti si grant

Qu'il ne poeit aler avant.

Il s'arestut, cil le hasterent,

Pur quei tarjout li demanderent: 1180

"Ço est uns bainz que vus veëz;

Voilliez u nun, la enz irez.

Baigniez serrez od cels qu'i sunt,

E qui cez bainz deserviz unt."

Mult a de cels dedenz oïz 1185

Granz dolurs e granz plurelz.

Quant en la maisun fu venuz,

Mulz i a durs turmenz veüz.

Li pavemenz de la maisun

Fu plains de fosses environ, 1190

Durement lées e parfundes,

Si esteient desuz roûndes.

Si pres d'autre chascune esteit,

Qu'a vis unques veie i pareit.

Icez fosses dunt nus parlum 1195

Esteient pleines, ço trovum,

De chascune licur boillant,

E de chascun metal ardent.

Grant multitude de gent

I a veü diversement 1200

De tute maniere d'eé:

Iluec esteient turmenté.

112d Tuit furent plungié li alquant

En cel metal chant e ardent;

E tels i out des i qu'as piz, 1205

E tels i a desqu'as numbriz;

* Cy. K: volens procedere non poterat. † K emittit.

1170 entre eus.—1171 Kil; maison.—1172 Fumose; tro; facon.—1173 fud; longor.—1174 ne; grandor.—1175 treistrent.—1180 Parquil; lui.—1181 bainz.—1182 noilles ou non; irrez.—1183 Balnez; ceus.—1184 ces.—1185 ad; ceus.—1186 ploris.—1187 maison fud.—1188 ad; torm.—1189 pavement; maison.

—1190 Fui plain; fosses environ.—1192 rundes.—1193 dautre chascun.—1194 onques.—1195 Ices choses dont; parlom.—1196 trouom.—1197 chascun licor.—1198 chascun.—1200 ad.—1201 toute; de hee.—1202 Iluec estoient tormentee.—1203 Tus; plunge; auquant.—1205 teus; de ci cas.—1206 teus; ad dekas.

tibias. Alii uno pede tantum in metallo bulliente stabant; alii unam manum vel utramque in eis [eo?] tendebant.* Omnes pariter prae dolore clamabant, omnes miserabiliter flebant. "Ecce," inquit demones, "cum istis balneaberis, nisi reverti volueris." Et [cum]† cepissent illum in fossam unam mergere, invocato ab eo Christi nomine, ceperunt inde procedere.

XIII. Et inde protrahentes eum perrexerunt contra montem unum, in quo utriusque sexus diverseque etatis super digitos pedum curvatam tantam vidit sedere multitudinem nudorum hominum, quod pauci ei [fo. 141b] videntur omnes quos antea viderat ad comparationem eorum. Omnes vero, quos vidit ibi, quasi mortem [cum tremore]‡ expectantes, ad aquilonem erant versi. Cumque ille miraretur quid hec multitudo praestolaretur, unus demonum dixit ad illum: "Miraris fortasse, quid cum tanto timore expectat populus iste? nisi reverti volueris, scies hoc certissime." Vix demon verbum finierat, et ecce ab aquilone ventus turbinis vehementis veniebat, qui et ipsos et quem duxerunt omnemque populum illum arripuit et in flumine fitido (sic) ac frigidissi-

Tels as quisses, tels as genuz;
Grevuse peine i out a tuz.
Tel as jambes e tel as piez
El metal esteient fichiez; 1210
Tel i teneient l'une main,
Tel ambedous, de dolor plain;
A une voiz tuit s'escríoent,
E pleigneient e dolusoent.
Li diable mult cruëment 1215
Li diënt qu'en icel turment
Serra ja mis e turmentez,
Se il ne fait lur volentez.
En un des bainz le vunt plungier;
Dunc remembra al chevalier 1220
Del nun Jhesu qu'il apela:
De cel turment se delivra.

D'ILUEC le mainent u il sunt,
Tant qu'il vindrent a un grant munt;
De chascun eage de gent 1225
Trova iluec asemblement.
Sur les ortilz des piez esteient,
Curbé e nu, grant peine aveient.
Si grant pueple out desur cel munt,
Que s'il n'eüst plus gent el munt, 1230
113a Ço li ert vis, bien suffireit
Icist pueples que il veëit.
Si cume gent mort attendanz,
Vers aquilun erent turnanz.
Li chevaliers s'esmerveilla 1235
De cele gent qu'il esguarda:
Kar il esteient altres
Cum s'il demandassent merci.
Uns diables li demanda
Pur quei de cels s'esmerveilla, 1240
Qu'il vit atendre od tel poür,
En [tel] peine e en tel labur?

* K tenebant. † AK. ‡ ClgK; J has, by error, eunte mortem.

1207 Teus; tens.—1208 Grenouse.—1209 Teus; gambes; tens.—1211 Teus.—1212 Teus ambdnl.—1213 tuz s'escríoient.—1214 pleignoient; dolusoient.—1215 diables; cruelement.—

1216 Lui; ken; torm.—1217 torm.—1218 Sil.—1219 E; baigns; nont plunger.—1220 au chenalier.—1221 non; kil.—1222 torm.—1223 ou.—1224 kil.—1225 age.—1226 Curbes; nuz.—1227 quil.—1228 aquilon; tornanz.—1229 autresi.—1230 lui.—1240 cens.

mo, flentem et ejulantem, longe in alia
montis parte jactavit.

In quo nimio frigore vexabantur, et
cum de aqua surgere niterentur, con-
currentes desuper aquam demones in
ipso flumine demerserunt eos. At mi-
les nomen Christi invocavit, et statim
se in alia ripa invenit.

XIV. Accedunt ad eum demones con-
tra austrum illum trahentes: et ecce
ante se vidit flammam tetram et sul-
phureo fetore fetidam quasi ascendere,
et quasi homines nudos et igneos utri-
usque sexus diverseque etatis sicut
scintilla[s]* ignis sursum in aere jac-
tari et qui flamma † indeficiente ‡
iterum reciderunt in puteo et in igne.
Qui [read Quo]* approximantes dixe-
runt multi [read militi]* demones:

"Iste flammivomus || puteus inferni est
introitus. In hoc loco nostrum est habi-
taculum, et quoniam [nobis]* hucusque
servisti, hic sine fine manebis nobiscum:

"Altretel vus estuet souffrir,
S'a nus ne vus volez tenir."
Li chevaliers mot ne respunt. 1245
Lever le quident sur le munt,
Quant [par] devers aquilun vint
Uns venz qui grant tempeste tint,
Qui tuz ensemble les leva
Horriblement, puis sis jeta 1250
En un flueve freit e puant,
D'altre part le munt guaimentant.
En cel turment e en cel cri
Ert li chevaliers altresi.
La lur cuvint grant freit souffrir; 1255
Cum il voleient sus venir,
Li diable les rebutouent,
Od cros de fer enz les plunjouent.
113b Li chevaliers se remembra;
Le nun Jhesu Crist reclama. 1260
De l'altre part fu en estant
Desur la rive maintenant.
Puis sunt li diable venu
A lui, sil traistrent vers le su
Tant qu'il vit une flame obscure, 1265
Sulphrine e puant sanz mesure.
De chascun eage de gent
Vit lever od l'embrasement:
Humes ardanz cum estenceles
Qui hors del feu issent noveles. 1270
En l'air muntoënt, puis chaïrent
Ariere el feu dunt [il] eïssirent,
El liu ardant e en poür,
E en tristeece e en dolor.
Cum cest liu durent aprismier, 1275
Si parlerent al chevalier:
"Veëz vus cest puiz flambeiant?
C'est l'entrée d'enfer ardant.
Ici est nostre mansiuns:
Finablement ça enz serruns. 1280

*ClgK. †ClgK flammorum. ‡Clg vi deficiente. ||J
flamivomus; K flammus.

1243 Autretel; estot.—1247 aquilon.—1251 floue.—1252
Dautre.—1253 torm.—1254 cheualers autreal.—1255 couint;

freif.—1257 rebot.—1258 croca.—1260 non.—1261 lautre; fuit.
—1265 kil.—1266 sans.—1267 chascune age.—1269 homes.—
1270 eïssent.—1271 montoient.—1273 puur.—1275 aprismier.—
1277 pui flambant.—1278 lentre.—1279 mansions.

omnes enim, qui nobis serviunt, hic sine fine manebunt: et si hoc os inferni intraveris, et anima et corpore pariter peribis. Si cum nobis adhuc assenseris ut revertaris, ad portam, qua intrasti, illesus amodo a nobis deduceres."

Illo autem de Dei adjutorio presumente illorumque promissa contempnente, in igne putei se jecerunt secumque militem in eo traxerunt; et quo profundius descendit, eo latiore esse vidit et graviores penam esse sensit. In eo tantam vero sensit miles angustiam ut pene prae nimitate angustiae et doloris [fo. 142a] omnino sit oblitus sui adjutoris. Deo autem opitulante nomen Christi invocavit statimque vis flamme eum cum reliquis sursum in aere elevavit. Sicque in descensione juxta puteum solus aliquamdiu stetit.

Cumque se ab ore putei subtrahens stetisset ignoransque quo se verteret, ecce demones alii, et ab eo, ut ita dicam, incogniti, de puteo procedentes advenrunt eique ita dixerunt: "et tu ita stas? quod hic esset infernus, socii nostri dixerunt tibi; sed consuetudinis nostre est semper mentiri, ut decipiamus per mendatum quos decipere non possumus per veritatem; hic non est inferni locus, sed nunc ad infernum te deducemus."

1281 ke.—1282 Ensembledment; ens.—1284 tous; sans.—1285 poi.—1287 ens; estoura.—1289 mieus.—1290 Arere; ferons.—1291 sauf sans.—1292 porrez; longement.—1293 conseil; eus.—1295 aduerser.—1296 eus; cheualer.—1297 fud; torm.—1298 kil.—1299 nomer; non.—1300 noma.—1302 lad.—

Pur ço que servi nus avez,
Ensembl'od nus ça enz serrez.
E tuit cil qui nus servirunt,
Tuz jurs sanz fin ci remeindrunt.
Si dedenz cest puiz vus metez, 1285
E[n] cors e alme perirez.
113c Çà enz vus estuvra venir,
S'a nus ne volez obeir.
Se mielz amez a retourner,
Ariere vus feruns mener, 1290
Sein e saf sanz blemissement;
Si purrez vivre lungement."
Tant s'afia en Jhesu Crist
Que lur conseil e els despist.
Dedenz saillent li adversier, 1295
Od els traient le chevalier.
Tant fu de cel turment hastez
Pur poi qu'il ne s'ert oblièz
De numer le nun sun seigneur;
Puis le numa par grant dulçur. 1300
Quant Jhesu Crist out reclamé
La force del feu l'a levé
Od les altres en l'air en haut;
Mult ot iluec perillus saut!
De juste cel puiz avalout; 1305
Une piece suls i estout.
Mult s'esmerveilla u il fu.
Diable sunt a lui venu
Qui li erent descuneüz,
Altre que cil qu'il out veüz. 1310
Al chevalier parlerent si:
"Estes vus ore suls ici?
Nostre cumpaignun vus mentirent
Qui pur veir entendre vus firent
113d Que l'entrée d'enfer fu ci: 1315
Sachiez que il vus unt menti.
De ço sunt il bien costumier,
Pur ço qu'il voelent engignier

1303 autres.—1305 poi.—1307 ou.—1309 Qe lui; desconeuz.—1310 Autres; kil.—1311 Au.—1313 compaignon.—1314 Qi.—1315 lentre; fud ici.—1316 Sachez kil; ont.—1317 costumer.—1318 kil volent engigner.

XV. Inde igitur tumultu magno eum traxerunt, sicque ad flumen latissimum et perfetidum pervenerunt. Erat autem totum flumen illud quasi flamma sulphurei incendii coopertum atque demonum multitudo plenum. Dixerunt igitur ei: "Sub isto flammato flumine scias infernum esse." Ultra autem quod videbatur flumen pons unus protendebat.

Dixeruntque demones ad militem: "Oportet te ambulare nunc super hunc pontem, et per nos ventus ille, qui te dejecit in flumine alio, deiciet te in isto; et statim a sociis nostris capieris et in profundum inferni demergeris. Prius tamen habes probare quale sit super pontem istum ambulare."

Et tenentes demones manus ejus super pontem illum fricaverunt. Et ecce in ponte illo* tria erant transeunti valde dubitanda: Primum, quod ita lubricatus erat, ut, si etiam latus esset, nullus aut vix quis in eo pedem figere posset:

* J illa.

1319 menconge; atrere.—1320 poent fere.—1322 kil.—1323 saches.—1324 mosteruns.—1325 kil.—1326 kil lui most.—1327 horrible; parfund.—1329 estoit toute.—1331 Cel.—1332 torment.—1333 kil.—1334 flue.—1335 cel.—1336 Ou; dampnes serron.—1337 cel; ad; pont.—1338 cens q' nont.—1339 pont;

La gent par mençunge e atraire,
Quant il par veir nel poeent faire. 1320
Ci n'est mie la dreite entrée
D'enfer qu'il vus orent mustrée.
Mes sachiez bien la vus merruns:
Le dreit enfer vus musterruns."

TANT le traistrent qu'il [le] leverent 1325
A une ewe qu'il li mustrerent,
Horrible e parfunde e puant:
La oït criz e noise grant.
Cele ewe esteit tute embrasée
De flame sulphrine od fumée; 1330
Cele ewe ert de diables pleine,
Od lur turment e od lur peine.
Cil quil menerent distrent tant:
"Veëz vus la cel flueve ardant?
Des puiz d'enfer ist cele ardurs, 1335
U nus dampné serrum tuz jurs.
Par desur cele ewe a un punt
Mult perillus a cels qu'i vunt.
Sur cel punt te cuvient aler;
Nus i feruns le vent sufler 1340
Qui del grant munt jus [vus] porta,
En cest flueve vus abattra,
114a Tut issi cum il vus ravi
En l'autre flueve e abati.
Nostre cumpain vus recevrunt, 1345
El puiz d'enfer vus *plungerunt*.
Le punt vus estuet espruver
Cum vus purrez ultre passer."
Il [le] leverent cuntre munt,
Les mains [li] metent sur le punt. 1350
Treis periz i aveit trop granz
Desur le punt as trespasanz:
Li premiers, [qu']ert escolujables:
Nuls n'i tenist ses piez estables;

conient.—1340 frons; souffler.—1341 Qi; mont.—1342 E en; floue; abatta.—1344 lautre floue.—1345 Nos compaignons; recevront.—1346 recevront.—1347 pont; espruver.—1348 porres outre.—1349 contre mont.—1350 pies; pont.—1351 perils; grant.—1352 pont; trespasanz.—1353 escolujables.—1354 Nus.

Aliud, quod ita strictus fuit, quod pedibus in eo stare vel ambulare nemo poterat: Tertium, quod pons ille in altum* erat a flumine ut horrendum esset deorsum asp[i]cere.

"Si tamen nobis adhuc assenseris," inquit, "[ut]† revertaris, ad portam, qua intrasti, illesus a nobis deducaris." Cogitans autem ille de quantis eum pius liberavit Jhesus periculis, invocato ejus sanctissimo nomine, [coepit]‡ pedetentim prius super pontem ambulare. Quo vero super pontem [fo. 142b] ambulavit amplius, eo ambulavit securius: quo enim in eo magis ambulavit, eo viam largiorem invenit, et, cum ambularet, latitudo vie ejus ex utraque parte crevit; et ecce post paululum latitudo pontis exciperet carrum onustum, et postmodum|| via erat larga ut sibi obviarent duo carra.

Porro demones, qui eum adduxerunt, in ripam fluminis astiterunt, et, videntes militem libere abire, vocibus suis ita in aere§ concusserunt horrende ut magis esset vocum illorum terrore per-

Tut i eüst il grant laür, 1355
Ne fust la force al Creatur!
D'autre part li punz esteit tels:
Si estreiz que nuls hum mortels
Pur nule rien ne se tenist,
Ço li fu vis, qu'il ne chalst. 1360
Li tierz esteit desmesurez:
Que *li punz* ert si haut levez
Del floeve, qui esteit ardanç,
Mult ert hidus as trespessanz
Qu'il ne chalssent cuntre val 1365
El dolerus puiz enferral.
Iluec li diënt li diable
Qui sunt felun e decevable:
"E encor te loëruns nus
Que tut te tenisses a nus. 1370
114b A la porte te remenruns
U tu entras, hors te mettruns."
Al chevalier a remembré
De quel peril Deus l'out jeté:
Le nun Jhesu Crist reclama; 1375
Pas avant altre avant ala.
Tant cum il plus ala avant
E plus s'ala asseürant,
Kar li punz li ellargisseit
Des dous parz, si qu'il le veëit. 1380
Tost fu li punz si eslaisiez,
Qu'uns chars i pout aler chargiez;
Un poi apres fu si creüz,
Si dous chars i eüst venuz
Bien se poissent encuntrer, 1385
E largement ultre passer.
Li diable qui l'amenerent
Furent el flueve e esgarderent
Cum il passa seürement.
Dunc criënt tant hidusement 1390
Que li airs remut e la terre;

* K ita altus. † ClgK; J vº = vero. ‡ ClgK. § K post modicum. § ClgK aerem (*without in.*)

1356 au.—1357 Dantre; pons; teus.—1358 estreit ke nus hom mortels.—1360 kil.—1361 ters; demesurez.—1362 lun pus.—1363 flove.—1365 Qil; contre.—1366 dolrus.—1367 lui.—

1368 felon.—1369 loruns.—1371 remenruns.—1372 Ou; mettrons.—1375 non.—1376 autre.—1377 alad.—1378 salad.—1379 pons lui.—1380 E de; pars; kil.—1381 pont; esleissiez.—1382 fud.—1385 encuntrer.—1386 outre.—1388 flove; esgarderent.—1391 Qe; airs.

cussus quam tormentorum illacione antea fuerat excruciat. Alii demones, qui sub ponte in flumine erant, unc[t]os suos ad illum jactaverunt, sed illum tangere non potuerunt. Secure tandem processit, quia sibi nihil obsistere invenit; sic itaque, latitudine pontis excrescente, flumen repperit* ex utraque parte a longe.

[HOMELY]

Comparantur nunc temptationes hujus vite locorum istorum tormentis et miserie, que, si opponantur in mentis statua, quasi maris arena temptationibus omnibus gravior locorum istorum apparerebit miseria. Carneis moribus enim nemo delectabitur quam diu de hiis meditabitur. Quibus gravis esse et aspera videtur quies claustralis et religio, cogitent, qualis sit tormentorum excruciacio; levior quippe est vita, in qua corporis et anime habentur, sine facti(?) adquirendi sollicitudine, necessaria, quam illa in qua tanta audiuntur tormenta.

Greignur peril n'estuveit querre!
Greignur poür out de cez criz
Que des periz qu'il out sentiz.
Altres diables vit parfunt 1395
Qui jetouent lur cros amunt
De fer, que crochier le voleient;
Mes a lui tuchier ne poeient.
114c Ulte le punt delivrement
Passa puis, senz encumbrement. 1400

Li autors nus fet ci entendre
Que nus devum essample prendre
Des granz turmenz qu'avez oi,
Dunt li livre nus cunte ci;
E des miseires que ci sunt, 1404
E des granz peines de cest munt.
Si ces peines esteient mises
Cuntre les altres e assises,
N'i avreit il cumparisun,
Plus[que] de [l']aigle e del pinçon. 1410
Tels sunt les peines infernals,
E les mesaises e les mala,
Que nuls nes purreit anubrer
Plus que gravele de la mer.
Qui de ço pensereit suvent 1415
Ne se delitereit niënt
En la vanité de cest munt,
Ne es delices que i sunt.
Mes li cloistrier ne sevent mie,
Qui quident avoir dure vie 1420
Pur ço qu'il sunt enclos dedenz,
Quels est la peine e li turmenz
Qui sunt es lius dunt nus parlum,
E dunt devant mustre avum.
Se cele vie remembrassent, 1425
Sur tute rien la lur preisassent;
114d Plus est legiere, ço me semble,

* K respexit.

1392 Greignur; nestoueit.—1393 Greignur; ces.—1394 perils
kil.—1395 Autres; parfunt.—1396 Qi; cros amunt.—1397 k
(crossed) crok (k crossed).—1398 tuchier.—1399 Outre; pont.
—1400 encomb.—1402 deuom.—1403 grant.—1404 Dont; liures.
—1405 miseries.—1407 ces.—1408 Contre; autres.—1409 auer-

eit; comparison.—1410 egle; pinçon.—1411 Tens; infernaus
—1412 mesaises; maus.—1413 porreit.—1414 ke.—1415 Qi;
souent.—1418 q.—1419 cloistrier.—1420 Qi.—1421 kil.—1422 tor-
menz.—1423 Qi; parlum.—1424 mostre auom.—1425 preissa-
sent.

Per que tamen tormenta mente rogo
sepe transeamus: karissimis nostris,
qui pro peccatis suis purgandis in eis
sunt, auxilium feramus. Sicut enim
militi dicitur, omnes, qui pro peccatis
suis purgandis extra os putei in quibus-
libet locis cruciantur, per beneficia,
quae pro eis fient, a penis liberabuntur
[fo. 143a].

In eis fortasse patres nostri vel matres
vel fratres aut sorores vel amici alii
consistunt ubi purgentur; nostrisque
precibus ac beneficiis expectant ut li-
berentur; et si eos in corporalibus cor-
poraliter viderimus consistere, et, cum
possumus, noluissemus eos eruere, indi-
caremur infideles filii existere: multo
infideliore sunt qui, dum possunt mis-
sis, psalmis, precibus de tormentis pre-
dictis karissimos quondam suos eruere,
non satagunt.

Testantur enim verba beati Gregorii,
pena[m] eorum, qui salvandi sunt,
istis remediis mitigari. Unde erubes-
cere presumus[?] qui, dum in ecclesia

1428 Ou; alme sunt.—1429 coriosete.—1430 Ou; ad.—1431 ou; ad mesaise.—1432 ad; despleise.—1433 uoil.—1434 tor-
mens deies.—1435 aides; nos.—1436 Qi lainz.—1437 come
fud; au cheualer.—1438 espurger.—1439 Serront; deliures.—
1440 ceus; dampnez.—1441 Ceus qi; torm.—1442 deliures.—
1443 oraisons.—1444 almones; dons.—1445 Quom done; ens.

U cors e almes unt ensemble
Vie senz curiosité,
U dras e vivre a a plenté, 1430
Que n'est cele u tant a mesaise,
Il n'i a rien que ne desplaie.
Pur ço vus voeil amonester
Que des turmenz deiez penser,
E si aidiez a voz amis 1435
Qui lai enz sunt en peine mis,
Si cum fu dit al chevalier.
Oil qui la sunt pur espurgier
Serrunt de peines delivré,
Fors cels qui sunt del tut dampné. 1440
Oil que par lius vit en turment
Erent delivré veirement
Par messes e par oraisons,
E par almosnes e par dons
Qu'um dune a povre gent pur ela. 1445
Tuit erent delivré fors cels
Qui en la buche d'enfer sunt;
Ja mes de Deu merci n'avrunt.
En tels turmenz sunt nostre pere,
Meres, sorurs, parent e frere; 1450
Attendanz sunt a noz bienfaiz,
Tant que d'iluec les ait Deus traiz.
Ses veissuns corporelment
Ci entre nus souffrir turment,
Trop grant laidesce feruns 1455
Se nus lur [en] aidissuns.
Greignur mestier en unt il la
Que s'il fussent entre nus ça.

SEINZ Gregoires testimonie,
Qui parole de cele vie, 1460
Qu'icil qui de cest siecle vunt
E en l'espurgatoire sunt,

—1446 for ceus.—1447 bouche.—1448 Es autres tormens; nos
peres.—1450 sorus parens; freres.—1451 nos; feiz.—1452 ke;
treiz.—1453 veissons.—1454 torm.—1455 laidesce ferions.—
1456 aidissons.—1457 ont.—1458 fuissent.—1459 Seint.—1461
Qi ell; vont.—1462 sont.

hec fiunt, rebus ociosis plusquam hiis intendimus. Hec ad correctionem eorum dicantur, qui pro causis minimis, dum celebratur officium defunctorum, relinquunt sepius sine necessitate psallencium chorum, scilicet quos nullius obedientie sollicitacio, sed sola mentis extrahit et expellit vagacio.

Quorum corda ad compassionem pietatis si non flectuntur* tristitia tormentorum, devocione saltem et affectu flectantur succedencium gaudiorum.

XVI. Procedens igitur jam miles liber a demonum vexacione, vidit ante se murum unum de terra altum erectum in aere. Erat autem murus ille mirabilis et incomparabilis structure. In quo muro portam clausam videbat, que metallis et lapidibus preciosis ornata mirabili chorcuscacione radiabat. Ad quam cum appropinquasset, et adhuc quasi spacium dimidii miliaris abesset, porta illa contra illum aperta est, et tante suavitatis odor ei accurrens per ea[m] exiit, ut, sicut ei videbatur, si res totius mundi converterentur in aromatibus, non vincerent suavitatem magnitudinis hujus:

* MS. flectantur.

1463 aleges; iceus.—1464 font; eus.—1465 grant.—1466 Denom esconter.—1468 Qa; eus priere.—1469 dions.—1470 Qi; isent.—1471 hom; mors.—1474 alegast; torment.—1475 ad; deliures.—1477 estient.—1478 auon.—1479 Cil.—1481 au-

Qu'il sunt alegiez par icels
Qui almosne e bien funt pur els.
Multest granz mals quant en l'iglise 1465
Devum esculter lur servise,
Que plus volum a el entendre
Qu'a Deu pur els prelere rendre.
Ço diuns pur cels chastier
Qui s'en issent hors del mustier 1470
Quant hum dit des morz le servise:
Ester devreient en l'iglise
E prier mult devotement
Que Deus alejast lur turment.
Tels i a qui delivré sunt: 1475
Ço sunt cil qui plus tost s'en vunt.
E s'il s'esteient remembré
De ço dunt nus avum parlé,
Icil en eüssent poür—
De la peine e de la dolor 1480
Que cil chaitif sanz fin avrunt,
E des joies u cil irunt
115b Qui servirent lur creatur
En dreite fei e par amur.

Cist chevaliers dunt ai parlé, 1485
Puis qu'il aveit le punt passé,
Tut delivres ala avant.
Devant lui vit un mur si grant
Haut de la terre en l'air amunt.
Les merveilles qui del mur sunt 1490
Ne purreit nuls cunter ne dire,
Ne l'ovraigne ne la matire!
Une porte a el mur veüe,
Bien l'a de loinz aparceüe.
[De] precius metals fu faite, 1495
E gloriusement purtraite:
Pursise esteit de bones pieres,
Mult precieuses e mult chieres.
Li chevaliers s'esmerveilla

ront.—1482 loes on; irront.—1483 Que.—1485 cheualers dont.
—1486 kil; pont.—1489 leir.—1490 que.—1491 porreit.—1493
ad.—1495 gloriusement portr.—1497 Pursise estoit; peres.—
1498 precieuses; cheres.

	De la porte qu'il esguarda,	1500
	Pur la clarté qu'ele rendeit	
	Qui des chieres pieres eisseit.	
	Mult se hasta de la venir;	
	Cuntre lui vit la porte ovrir.	
	Demie liue ert loinz e plus;	1505
	Quant vers la porte aprisma sus	
	Si senti une tel odor	
	Tant dulce e si bone flairur,	
	Si tutes les riens de cest munt	
	Qu'i unques furent ne qu'i sunt	1510
	115c Fussent aromatizement	
	N'ateindreit il a ço niënt!	
	A la dulçur que il senti,	
	Qui tut le cors li repleni,	
	Tut en recuvra sa vertu.	1515
	Del turment qu'il aveit eü,	
	Avis li fu, par cele odor,	
	Que tute perdit sa dolur.	
	QUANT la porte vint aprismant,	
	Un <i>pais</i> vit resplendissant.	1520
	La enz aveit greignur clarté	
	Que li soleilz n'a en esté.	
	Mult i cuveita a entrer:	
	Benetürez esteit cil ber	
	Qui tant out fait e deservi	1525
	Qu' <i>encuntre</i> [lui] tel porte ovri.	
	Cil nel volt mie deceveir	
	Qui cel estre li fist veëir:	
	Bien a empli sun grant desir,	
	Qui en tel liu le fist venir.	1530
	ENCORE esteit loinz de la porte	
	Quant il vit croiz que l'um aporte,	
	Palmes orines, ço trovuns,	
	Chandelabres e gumfanuns.	
	Gent erent de religion	1535
tantasque vires percepit ex illa suavitatem, ut tormenta, que antea pertulit, ut sibi videbatur, jam sine angustia posset sustinere: respiciensque infra portam, vidit patriam claritate solis splendidiorem, ut sibi videbatur [fo. 143, b]; vidit, inquam, et introire concupivit. Beatus vero cui talis porta patuit; nec eum fefellit qui eum eo pervenire permisit, quia ejus mox desiderium complevit.		
Cum enim adhuc aliquantulum longius esset a porta, egressa est contra eum, cum aureis vexillis cereisque quasi palmarum aurearum ramis, processio talis ac tanta, qualis in		

1500 E de; kil.—1501 kele.—1502 cheres pierres.—1504 Contre.—1506 aprima.—1508 dous; fierur.—1510 onques.—1511 fuissent.—1512 natendreit.—1513 doucur quill.—1514 Qe; lui.—1515 recoura.—1516 torment.—1517 fud; cel.—1518 Qe.—

1520 pas.—1522 soleilz nad.—1523 coueita.—1526 Que entre.—1528 Qi; lui.—1529 ad.—1530 Qi; lui.—1532 ereis; lon.—1533 trouons.—1534 gomfanons.—1535 religion.

hoc mundo, ut estimavit, nunquam est visa. Vidit quasi hominum formas de omnibus ordinibus diverseque etatis et utriusque sexus. Vidit alios quasi archiepiscopos, alios ut episcopos, alios ut abbates vel monachos, alios quasi presbiteros et singulorum graduum esse ministros, sacris vestibus suis ordinibus congruentibus indutos.

Omnes vero, tam clerici quam layci, forma vestium videbantur esse vestiti, in quibus servierunt Christo dum fuerunt in seculo vivi. Militem vero cum magna veneratione et letitia susseperunt, sicque cum concentu seculo(?)^{*} inaudite armonie secum illum perducentes, infra portam redierunt. Finito autem concentu [eorum?][†] qui illum introduxerunt, duo archiepiscopi patriam illi ostensuri, in suo eum ductu et comitatu susceperunt.

Qui cum eo loquentes primo benedixerunt Deum, qui, in tanta constancia contra tormenta per quae transiit et quae pertulit, ejus consummavit et confortavit animum. Ipsis igitur per patriam illam illum ducentibus, huc illucque pertransivit, et multo plura quam dicere potuit milia jocunda prospexit.

^{*} So ClgK; J has .s. [†] Wanting in these MSS.
1536 procession.—1537 lui; ken.—1538 ces qui.—1539 fud; tele.—1541 aage.—1543 domes.—1544 comp.—1545 uestus.—1546 Solum; qua eus.—1547 arceuesque.—1548 autre.—1549 autre.—1555 dotes.—1557 Contre; chenaler.—1559

Qui firent la processiun.
Qo li ert vis qu'en tut le munt,
De cels qu'i furent ne qu'i sunt,
115d Ne fu unques itels vete,
Ne si honestement tenue. 1540
De chascun eage de gent,
E de chascun ordre ensement
Vit formes d'humies e semblanz:
Mult ert la cumpaignie granz.
Vestu furent diversement 1545
Sulunc l'ordre qu'a els apent:
Li un erent cum ercevesque,
E li altre erent cum evesque;
Li un abbé, li altre moigne
E prestre e diacne e chanoigne, 1550
E subdiacne e acolite
E laie gent a Deu eslite.
En tel forme e en tel semblant
Furent vestu aparissant
Cum il furent, n'en dutez mie, 1555
El Deu servise en ceste vie.
Cuntre le chevalier alerent,
Sil reçurent, enz le menerent
Od chant e dulce melodie
E od le sun de l'armonie. 1560
Quant il orent fini lur chant,
Dui ercevesque vunt avant,
Si li mustrerent le pais,
Tuz les estres e le purpris.
Après parlerent dulcement 1565
E distrent al cumencement:
115a "Beneëiz seit li reis de gloire
Qui t'a dunée la victoire,
Que surmunté as les diables
E lur turmenz nun cuvenables, 1570
E que si estes ci venuz
E a tel joie receüz."

dus (chant); dus.—1560 son; la romonie.—1562 arcevesque
mont.—1563 Se lui mostr.—1564 porpris.—1565 Pres; douce-
ment.—1566 au comen.—1567 Benelt; rois.—1568 done.—
1569 Qe sormonte.—1570 torm.; couenables.—1571 ke.—1572
au.

Vidit tamen patriam tanta claritate lucis lustratam, ut sicut lucerne cecantur splendore solis hujus, sic meridianus sol, ut* sibi erat visum, obtenebraretur pre nimia claritate lucis illius.

Fines patrie pre nimia longitudine et latitudine scire non potuit, nisi tamen ex ea parte, qua per portam intravit. Fuit autem[et] patria quasi tota amena prata ac virencia, diversis floribus fructibusque multiformium herbarum herborumque [read arborumque]†decorata:[fo. 144a] ex quorum tamen odore sine fine, [ut sibi]‡ videbatur, vixisset, si ibi sine fine manere potuisset.

Nox illam nunquam obscurat, semper splendor puri celi indicibili claritate rutulat. Tantam ibi vidit utriusque sexus hominum multitudinem, quantam antea neminem vidisse estimabat: alii in hiis, alii in illis locis per conventus distincti commanebant, et tamen, prout voluerunt, alii de istis in illis, alii de illis in istis catervis cum letitia transibant: sicque fiebat, ut alii de aliorum visione gaudebant et alii de aliorum visitatione exultabant.

Il le menerent sus e jus;
Tant i vit bien ne poeit plus.
En cel pais vit tel clarté 1575
Qu'a grant peine l'a eeguardé:
Si cume li soleilz le jur
Tolt as esteiles lur luur,
Iasi toldreit, ço li ert via,
La granz clartez de cel pais 1580
Al soleil tute sa luur
Quant a greignur resplendissur!
Il ne pot veür la grandur
Del pais u tant a dulçur,
Fors de la porte u il entra 1585
A tant, cum hum li enseigna.
Si cum uns prez fu oist pala,
De flurs e d'arbes plenteis:
Herbes i out de bone odor
E gentiz fruiz de grant valor. 1590
Tant aveit le quer repleni
De la dulçur que il senti,
Que ço li esteit bien avis
Qu'il en poeit vivre tuz dis.
En cel champ a si grant clarté, 1595
N'i puet avoir nule obscurté.
La clartez del ciel i resplent
Niënt escolurjablement.
De tute maniere d'eé
I vit genz a si grant plenté 1600
Qu'il cuidout bien que nuls vivanz
El munt n'en peüst veür tanz!
Par cuvenz esteient partiz
Par lius en joie e en deliz;
E nepuroec quant il voleient, 1605
De l'un liu a l'autre veneient.
Grant joie orent comunement,
Li un des altres veirement,
E de la visitaciun

* J ubi. † ClgK et arborum. ‡ K.

1576 Qa; lad.—1577 le soleil.—1579 lui.—1580 grant clarte.
—1581 tote.—1582 il ad.—1583 puet ueer.—1584 ou; ad.—1585
ou.—1586 En (tant); hom.—1587 fust.—1588 flors; de arbres.
—1590 gentils.—1592 quill.—1593 lui.—1594 tut.—1595 ad.—1596

pot; nul.—1597 clarte.—1598 escolurgablement.—1599 de
hee.—1600 gens.—1601 ke.—1602 mund; ueir.—1603 couens.—
1605 nepuroec.—1606 autre.—1607 communement.—1608 autres
ueirement.—1609 visitacion.

Chori choris per loca astiterunt dulcisque armonie concentu Creatorem suum laudabant: et sicut stella ab alia differt claritate, ita erat differentia varia in eorum vestium et vultuum nitore. Alii enim amictu videbantur indui aureo, alii nitide [*read* viridi],* alii purpureo, alii jacincto, alii ceruleo, alii candido.

Forma ejus vestis novit miles, cujus fuit ille in seculo ordinis. Quorum habitus varius [*que*] color varie potius videbatur esse claritatis splendor. Hoc enim, quod videbatur esse vestium color et forma, videbatur uniuscujusque vestis potius esse nitentis claritatis gloria. Alii quasi reges coronati incedebant, alii in manibus palmas aureas ferebant. Tantorum in requie fuit militi delectabilis conspectus, nec minus eorundem armonie delectabilis suavisque auditus. Undique sanctorum audivit concentum laudes dei personantium. Singuli autem de propria felicitate gaudebant, singuli de singulorum gaudio et erectione exultabant.

Tantusque patriam odor repleverat suavitatis, ut ipsa flagrantia suavitatis [fo. 144b] videre[n]tur † sustentari

* ClgKB. † ClgK.

1610 fesiunt environ.—1611 Ou kil fuissent; doucur.—1613 diversoit; nesture.—1614 esteilles.—1615 Sl.—1616 lautre.—1617 uns.—1618 autre; ou porprin.—1619 uns.—1620 ou blanches.—1621 sont; gens.—1622 des nestemens.—1625 come;

Qu'entr'els feseient environ. 1610
U qu'il fussent, par grant dulçur,
Firent loēnge al Creatur.
Si diversout lur vesteüre
Cum les esteilles par figure
Se diversent en lur luur: 1615
L'une mendre, l'autre greignur.
Li un l'orent tute d'or fin,
E li altre vert u purprin:
Li un de jacinte colur,
[U]bloie u blanche cume flur. 1620

Cist Oweins sout de cele gent,
Par la forme del vestement,
De quel mestier orent esté,
E en quel *ordre* orent finé.
Si cum variout la colurs, 1625
Aveient diverses luurs.
Colurs de gloire apparisseit
Sur tuz les dras qu'il i aveit.
Li un alouent coroné
Cume rei e si aturné; 1630
Li un portouent en lur mains
Palmes orines, flurs e rains.
Tant fu cil estres delitables
Al chevalier e si mirables,
De la dulçur e del repos 1635
Qu'il vit la enz, dedenz cest clos,
E des dulz chanz qu'il entendi
A la Deu loēnge e oi.
Chascuns en sei s'esjoisseit
De la joie que il aveit: 1640
Pur ço que de l'espurgatoire
Esteient amené en gloire.

Cist pais ert si repleniz
De la grace Deu e guarniz,
Que bien porent estre peüz 1645

les.—1626 diners.—1627 Colur.—1628 kil.—1629 uns; corone.—1630 atorne.—1631 uns.—1632 flors.—1633 fud.—1637 dus; kil entendit.—1638 Al; oit.—1639 Chascun.—1640 kil.—1641 ke.—1642 amenes.—1644 garniz.—1645 porrent.

habitantes et ambulantes in ea. Ibi videbantur mansiones variorum conventuum vel singulorum: erant singule magnitudine lucis replete. Omnes vero, qui militem intuebantur, Deum benedicentes de [ejus]* adventu quasi a morte † de fraterna benedictione gloriabantur. Videbatur quomodo de ejus adventu ibi quasi nova exultacio fuit. Unusquisque in patria sua illa exultabat.

Undique sanctorum melodia resonabat, nec estum, nec frigus ibi senciebat nec quod offendere vel nocere posset ibi quicquam videbat. Omnia ibi pacata, omnia placita, omnia grata. Multo plura in beatorum requie oculis suis vidit, quam de ea in hac vita unquam audivit, vel quam quis inde scire possit.

Conspectis tandem locis multis et sanctorum conventibus, atque eorum ab eo auditis cantilenis suavis, pontifices, qui patriam illi ostenderunt, ab aliis seorsum subtrahentes, militi ita dixerunt: "Ecce, frater, Deo auxiliante, vidisti que desiderasti videre. Vidisti enim huc veniendo tormenta peccatorum, vidisti hic et requiem beatorum. Benedictus sit autem Creator et redemptor omnium, qui tibi tale dedit propositum, cujus gratia constantiam habuisti in tormentis, per que transisti. Et quoniam ejus gratia et virtute ad

* CigK. † Order = K; in J, a morte follows benedictione.

1646 E de.—1647 Plosurs maisons.—1648 muls compaignes.—1650 De la.—1651 cheualer.—1652 benesquirent.—1653 entreus.—1654 Cume.—1655 ad.—1657 dus chant.—1660 que ame-

De cele grace [e] sustenuz.
Plusurs maisuns [i] out la enz,
E multes compaignes dedenz;
Chascune aveit a grant plenté
La celestiène clarté. 1650

116d Tuit cil qui le chevalier virent
Lur Creatur beneësquirent
Pur lui qui ert entr'els venuz,
Cum lur frere de mort eissuz.

La grant leésce a bien veüe 1655
Que tuit firent de sa venue.

Li dulz chanz e la melodie
Des seinz Deu est dedenz oïe.
La enz n'out trop chaut ne trop freit,
Ne rien qu'amenuisance seit: 1660

Quant qu'il i out esteit plaisable
E paisable e tut acceptable.

En cel repos beneüré
Vit de joie[s] si grant plenté,
Que nuls qui en cest siecle seit 1665
Saveir ne cunter nel purreit.

Or nus doint Deus ço deservir
Qu'a cez joies puissuns venir!

QUANT li chevaliers out veü
Cele grant joie e cel salu, 1670
Li ercevesque le menerent

Un poi en sus, a lui parlerent:
"Beals frere, ore as ici veü

Le desirier qu'avez eü:
Les granz turmenz e les dolurs 1675
Avez veü des pecheürs,

E les deliz e les repos
Des bons qui sunt dedenz cest clos.

117a Beneüz seit qui te duna
Cest purpos e si aferma; 1680
E que tu pois endurer

Les granz turmenz a trespassez

nusance.—1661 kil; pleisable.—1662 peisable.—1665 ken.—1666 conter; porreit.—1667 Ore.—1668 Ka ces; puissions.—1671 (ercesneke) li.—1673 Bian.—1674 desirer.—1675 tormenz.—1676 Beneüz; dona.—1680 affirma.—1681 ke.—1682 tormenz.

nos perductus es, de singulis que vidisti
raciones autem a nobis audire debes.

XVII. "Patria ista est terrestris paradisus, de qua pro peccatis ejectus est primus homo. Hinc autem expulsus in miseriam illam, in qua homines nascuntur, est projectus. Postquam Deo subjeci per precepti obedientiam noluit, celita gaudia, que in hoc loco positus contemplabatur, ultra videre non potuit. Hic verbum Dei sedulus audierat cordis mundicia et celsitudine visionis: [hic]* beatorum angelorum spiritibus intererat. Cum vero per inobedientiam cecidit, etiam et lumen mentis [fo. 145a] quo lustrabatur, ab eo recessit.

"Ex cujus carne nos omnes nati sumus in miseria, sed tamen per fidem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi quam in baptismo suscepimus, redivimus in hanc patriam. Vitam aliam esse credimus per spiritum sanctum: quam esse non potuimus scire, sicut ille per experimentum scivit. Veruntamen quoniam post fidei susceptionem multis actualibus peccatis implicati sumus, non nisi per purgacionem tormentorum,

*AClgK.

1683 ou.—1687 dirrona.—1689 cist estres.—1690 Sachas ke go; paradis.—1691 Dont; fud.—1692 Gotes; fud eissilles.—1696 miserie.—1694 mund ou; home.—1695 kil fut.—1696 defena.—1698 manga.—1700 Ces; rines; cil manecir.—1701

De l'espurgatoire u tu fus,
E par sa grace venis sus.
Par Deu estes ci amenez: 1685
Des choses que veñ avez
Nus diruns la senefiance;
Aiez en Deu bone esperance.
Icist pais e icist estres,
Sachiez c'est Parais Terrestres, 1690
Dunt Adams fu pur ses pechiez
Jetez e si fu eissilliez
En miseire e en amerté
El munt u li hume sunt né,
Puis qu'il fu inobediens 1695
E n'en tint mie le desfens
Sun creatur, qui l'out formé,
E manja le fruit devehé;
Ultre ço ne pout il veñir
Cez granz joies, ne ci manecir. 1700
Einz oët il sun creatur
E a lui parla par dulçur;
Les angles poeit il veñir,
Ensemble od els grant joie avoir.
Hors fu jetez de cest pais 1705
Par sun pechié, cume chaitis;
117b Aneire perdit la clarté
Del sen par sa maleñrté.

"De sa char sumes nus tuit né
En miseire, en chaitiveté; 1710
Mes par la fei nostre seignur
Jhesu Crist, nostre creatur,
Que par baptesme receûmes
De dreite creance e eûmes, 1715
Sumes en cest pais venu
Par la Deu grace e receû.
Par seint esprit entenduns
D'autre vie, mes ne poûns
Saveir le tut certainement;

veilt.—1708 neir.—1704 ensemblement.—1705 fud iete.—1706 come.—1708 ciel.—1710 cheitinete.—1715 uenun.—1716 receun.—1717 esperit entendons.—1718 Dautre.—1719 certainement.

per quam transisti, [huc]* pervenire [non] possumus. Penetentia[m]' enim, quam ante mortem vel in morte suscepimus et minime perfecimus, in illis locis penalibus, alii majori, alii minori spatio [temporis]† secundum modum et quantitatem peccatorum tormenta luendo peregrimus. Omnes vero, qui in hac requie sumus, in illis locis pro peccatis fuimus.

"Sic et omnes, quos in singulis locis penalibus vidisti, preter eos, qui infra os putei infernalis sunt, post purgacionem ad hanc, in qua nunc sumus, requiem pervenientes salvi tandem erunt. Omni vero die seculi inde purgati ad nos huc veniunt aliqui, et nos eis obviam venimus, sicut et tibi fecimus, et eos‡ in hac requie introducimus. De eis vero, qui ibi sunt, alii aliis majore tempore erunt. Qui bene purgati de corpore exiunt (sic), statim huc ad nos veniunt. Nullus autem eorum, qui in penis sunt, novit quamdiu ibi demorat[ur]us* sit: per missas vero et psalmos et oraciones et elemosinas, quotiens pro eis fiunt, eorum tormenta minorantur, aut de ipsis tormentis in minoribus transferuntur,|| donec omnino per talia beneficia liberentur: et cum in hanc patriam venerint,§ quamdiu hic mansuri sunt, nesciunt. Nullus enim nostrum hec scire [pote]st]* de se quamdiu hic debeat esse.

*AK. †AClgK. ‡J eas; AK eos. | J transferantur. §So AClgK; J venerunt.

1720 ueralement.—1721 eo ke.—1722 encomb.—1723 estut espenir.—1724 ke ci puissons.—1725 espurgacion.—1726 Solunc eo; auon.—1727 ke.—1728 Qe.—1729 oes; feire.—1730 repeire.—1731 tormenz.—1733 menors.—1734 Solum; oures;

Adams le sout veraiment. 1720
 Mes pur iço que nus pechames,
 E de pechié nus encumbrames
 Le nus estuet espeneir,
 Einz que ici puissons venir,
 [E] estre en l'espurgaciun 1725
 Sulunc iço que fait avum.
 La penitence que preimes,
 Que devant la mort ne feimes,
 En cez lius la nus estut faire
 Par unt [vus] eñstes repaire. 1730
 Vus veistes [tuz] les turmenz
 As chaitis qui furent dedenz:
 Tels as greignurs, tels as menurs,
 Sulunc les oeuvres des plusurs.
 1170 Cil qui plus pechierent el munt 1735
 Greignurs turmenz iluec avrunt.
 Tuit cil qui sunt es granz turmenz
 Que vus veistes la dedenz,
 A nus vendrunt, bien le sachiez,
 Quant il erent tuz espurgiez; 1740
 Fors cels qui el puiz d'enfer sunt—
 Ja mes de cel turment n'istrunt!
 Chascun jur viennent oi a nus
 Cil qui des peines sunt rescus;
 A grant joie les recevum 1745
 Od mult bele processiun.
 Puis sunt od nus dedenz cest clos,
 En grant joie e en grant repos.
 Cil qui el munt sunt espurgié
 De lur pechiez e alegié 1750
 Trespasserunt legierement
 L'espurgatoire e le turment:
 Hastivement a nus vendrunt,
 Al plaisir Deu i remaindrunt.
 Nuls de cels qui en peine sunt 1755
 [Ne]sevent cum bien i serrunt,

plusors.—1735 pechoherent.—1736 tormenz.—1737 en; tormenz.—1739 uendront.—1741 for cil; pus.—1742 torment.—1743 Chascun.—1745 receuon.—1746 procession.—1749 mund; espurgiez.—1750 alegies.—1752 torment.—1755 cens.—1756 il l.

Ne cum bien il i unt esté;
 C'est tut en la Deu volenté.
 Quant hum fait pur els oraisuns,
 Messes e almosnes e duns, 1760
 Lur turment sunt amenuisié,
 U del tut en sunt alegié:
 117d U l'um alege lur dolurs,
 U l'um les met[enz] en menurs.
 Quant il sunt tut hors de turment 1765
 A nus viennent joissantment.
 Il ne sevent quant il i sunt
 Cum bien il i demurerunt;
 Ne nus meismes ne savuns
 Cum bien demurer i devuns. 1770

"Sicut enim in locis penalibus secundum quantitatem penarum [*read* culparum]* recipiunt remorandi spatium, ita et qui hic sumus secundum merita [fo. 145b] bona minus vel plus hic morandi spacium percepimus; et licet a penis simus liberati, liberi tamen ad superna[m]* celi letitia[m]* ascendere nondum sumus digni. Quamdiu tamen hic moraturus†sit, nullus de se novit. Ecce hic, ut vides [in]* magna requie et leticia sumus: sed, post spatium a Deo provisum, singuli hinc transibimus. Cotidie enim societas nostra crescit et decrescit; sicut enim cotidie aliqui de tormentis purgati ad nos huc veniunt, ita et hinc a nobis in paradiso terrestri constitutis, in paradisum celestem transeunt."

"Si cum li chaitif en turment
 Sunt travaillié plus lungement
 Pur les granz pechiez que il firent,
 Tant cum il el siecle vesquirent,
 Si sunt li altre meins pené 1775
 Qui meins firent d'iniquité;—
 Si est de nus qui sumes ci:
 Sulunc ço qu'avum deservi,
 Devuns ici plus demurer,
 Einz [en] greignur joie munter. 1780
 Que tut seiuns nus delivré
 De tutes peines e salvé,
 Ne potns nus mie uncore estre
 A la grant leésce celestre.
 Vus veéz bien que sanz dolor 1785
 Sumes ici en grant dulçur;
 En mult greignur joie vendrums,
 Mes quant ço ert, nus nel savuns.
 Nostre cumpaignie descreist
 Chascun jur si cume ele creist; 1790
 118a Li espurgié viennent ici
 E li altre, si cum jol di,

*AClgK. †So K; J moriturus.

1759 hom; eus oreisons.—1760 almosnes; dons.—1761 tormentis; amenuses.—1762 On; alegges.—1763 On lom.—1764 On lom.—1765 torment.—1766 demorant.—1769 meimes; sauons.—1770 demorer; deuons.—1771 cume; torment.—1782 traua-

ille; longement.—1773 kil.—1775 autre.—1776 de iniq.—1778 Selunc; kanom.—1779 Deuons; demorer.—1781 seuns; dellures.—1782 totes; salues.—1785 ke.—1787 uendrons.—1788 sauons.—1789 compaignie.—1790 lor.—1791 espurgiez.—1792 autre; cume loidi.

XVIII. Pontifices vero perducentes illum in montem unum,* jusserunt illi ut aspiceret sursum. Quod cum fecisset, interrogaverunt, cujusmodi† coloris erat celum contra locum, quo staret. Respondit miles, quod coloris auri ardentis in fornace esset similis. "Hoc," inquiunt, "quod nunc vides, est introitus celi, et porta celestis paradisi. Quando aliqui a nobis discedunt, hic in celum ascendunt. Quamdiu hic manemus, cotidie semel pascit nos Deus cibo celesti. Quo‡ autem hic pascamur cibo, jam sencies nobiscum gustando."

Vix hoc sermone finito, quasi flamma ignis de celo descendit, qui, ut sibi videbatur, patriam cooperuit, et, quasi radius super singulorum capita descendens,|| tandem in eis tota intravit:[super militis vero capud ita descendit et in eo sicut in aliis intravit;]* sed tantam suavitatem delectabilem in corde et corpore sensit, ut pene pre nimia suavitate delectacionis non intellex[er]it,§ utrum vivus esset, an mortuus. Sed hora illa

* AClgK; J unde. † J cujusmodo. ‡ AK Quali. || *The clause et . . . descendens follows descendit in J. The order adopted* — AClgK. § ClgK.

1798 Uont.—1794 De ci ken. 1796 aroesake qui (iluec).—1796 Li.—1797 lui dient kil tornast.—1798 oile.—1799 Se; diseit.—1800 ciel. 1802 flambeant.—1803 fud.—1804 Qe; lui.—1805

Vunt de cest parais terestre
Des i qu'en parais celestre."

Li ercevesque qu'iluec sunt 1795
Le menerent en un haut munt,
E li *distrent* que il turnast
Ses oeilz amunt, si esguardast,
Si lur *desist* de quel colur
Li ciels esteit en sa luur? 1800
Il lur respondi maintenant
Qu'il resembloit or flambeiant.
De si grant clarté fu espris
Que tuz ardeit, ço li ert vis.
"Ço est l'entrée, beals amis, 1805
Del celestiën parais!
Quant alcuns deit de nus turner
Par cele porte deit entrer,
Sachiez que par iluec s'en vunt
Cil qui el ciel muntent amunt. 1810
De viande celesttel
Nus peist nostre sire del ciel;
Une fiée chascun jur,
Par sa grace e par sa dulçur.
Ja gusterez ensemble od nus 1815
La viande qu'il dune a nus."

A vis unques aveit ço dit
Quant li fus del seint esprit
1186 Descendi del ciel, li fu vis,
E raëmpli tut le pais; 1820
E si cum li rai del soleil
(Bien le pot hum veïr de l'oeil!)
Les chies de cels envuruna,
Dedenz els se mist e entra.
Li chevaliers, n'en dute[z] mie, 1825
En reçut od els sa partie.
Si grant joie e si grant delit

lentre biaux.—1806 De.—1807 aucuns; torner.—1809 Sachez ke; iluec; uont.—1810 montent amont.—1813 fie chascun.—1815 ensemblement.—1816 kil done.—1817 unkes.—1819 descendit; co lui fud.—1820 raamppli.—1821 cume.—1822 puet hom user defoil.—1823 chiefs; enulrona.—1824 enls.—1825 ne.—1826 eus.

cito pertransiit. "Hic," inquiunt, "est cibus ille unde semel pascimur cotidie a Deo. Qui vero hi[n]c in celum ascendunt, perfruuntur sine fine." Ibi libenter miles mansisset, si permanere potuisset. Sed post talia et tanta jocunda referuntur ei tristia.

XIX. "Quoniam" [inquiunt]* "ex parte jam vidisti que videre desiderasti, scilicet requiem beatorum et tormenta peccatorum, oportet [fo. 146a] jam ut nunc redeas eadem via qua huc veneras: et si bene in seculo amodo vixeris, securus esto, ad hunc locum ad nos venies, quando de corpore exieris. Si autem, quod absit, male vixeris, vidisti quanta te expectant tormenta. Nunc redibis, nec demones nec tormenta formidaveris, quia demones ad te accedere non audebunt, nec tormenta te poterunt ledere."

"Hinc," ait miles lugens, "discedere non potero, quia, [et] si hinc recessissem, in bono perseverare non valebo; timeo quod reddeant in me quae me huc venire fecerunt." "Non," inquiunt, "sicut tu vis, erit; sed sicut ille, qui nos et

Out en sun quer e si parfit,
E *tel* dulçur, qu'il ne saveit
U morz u vis quels il esteit! 1830
Mes cele hure est tost trespassee,
Que tel grace lur est dunee.

De tel viande sunt peü
Cil qui el ciel sunt receü.
Li chevaliers, se il poist, 1835
Tuz jurs senz fin i remansist.

Après cele tres grant leüce
Qu'il e eüe, avra tristesce.
Li ercevesque maintenant
Al chevalier diseient tant: 1840

"Des or poëz bien repairier.
Veü en *as* tun desirier:
Les granz joies de parais
E les granz peines des chaitia.
Par la veie vus en irez 1845
Dunt vus estes ça enz entrez;

118c S'el siecle vivez leialment,
Selez seürs certainement,
Après vostre mort [vuz] vendrez
En la joie que vuz veëz. 1850

Si vus vivez de male vie—
Deus doint que vus nel faciez mie—
A cez turmenz que vus savez
Pur espurgier repairerez.
Hastez vus tost [d'] aler d'ici: 1855
Bien sachiez que li enemi
Ne vus purrunt mie aprismier
Ne par turment niënt blescier."

Li chevaliers plure e suspire;
As evesques cumence a dire 1860
Qu'il ne s'en *voelt* niënt partir,
Kar *n'i* quide ja mes venir,
Pur les grevus pechiez del munt
Qui encumbre[nt] cels que i sunt:

*AK.

1829 cel; kil.—1830 Ou; ou uifs.—1832 donc.—1833 peüz.
—1834 receüz.—1835 si.—1836 sen.—1838 ad.—1839 arceveske.
—1840 diseint.—1841 ore; repairer.—1842 aues; desirer.—
1845 irrez.—1847 Si el; leaument.—1848 Sies seur.—1850 ueien.

—1852 ke; ne faces.—1853 ces tormenz.—1854 reperirez.—1856
saches ki.—1857 porrunt; apresmer.—1858 torment; blescer.
—1859 cheualier.—1860 eueskes comence.—1861 mont.—1862
ne.—1863 greuous.—1864 encombre ces.

te fecit, voluerit." Merens igitur miles ac lugens ad portam ab eis reducitur, et contra voluntatem egressus inde: statim porta post eum clauditur. Via igitur rediit, qua venit, donec ad aulam pervenit.

XX. Demones, quos ipso* reditu* veniendo vidit, quasi timentes eum, ab illo fugerunt, et tormenta que videbantur omnino non nocuerunt. Et cum intraret in aulam super columnas mirabili structura factam, ubi, post visitacionem sanctorum, ei occurrerat multitudo demonum, statim occurrunt illi iterum .XV. predicti viri, laudantes Deum de bona constancia, quam contulit illi. "Per laborem," inquiunt, "quem sustinuisti, a peccatis es purgatus: nunc autem oportet ut hinc ascendas quam citius; jam enim in patria tua diurne lucis clarescit aurora, et nisi prior post missam portam aperiens te invenerit, de reditu tuo ultra diffidens, obserata porta, in ecclesiam redibit."

Percepta ab eis benedictione, prout potuit, ascendere festinavit. Eadem-

"Ne sai que me remaint ici, 1865
Si cum jo sui, par Deu merci."
Li dui ercevesque unt parlé:
"N'ert pas, frere, a ta volenté."
Hors a la porte l'unt mené:
A Jhesu Crist l'unt cumandé; 1870
La porte cloënt, il s'en va
Par mi les lius u il passa.
Quant li diable le veëient
Huntus erent, si s'en fuëient.
118d N'aveit dute de nul turment 1875
Ne n'en senti bleuissement.
Al palfis *vint* qui est mirables,
U il vit primes les diables.
Dedenz entra, puis s'asist jus;
Merveilla sei, ne poeit plus, 1880
De l'ovraigne de la maisun.
Après ço vindrent li barun,
Qui *einz* orent a lui parlé,
Si l'unt de part Deu salué.
Deu loërent e sa puissance, 1885
Qui en si ferme parmanance
L'*out* fait ester e meintenu,
Par quei le diable out vencu;
E qu'il ert de tuz ses pechiez
E delivres e espurgiez. 1890
"Beals frere chiers, or vus hastez,
Delivrement vus en alez,
Que vus ne selez ci suzpris.
Il adjurne en vostre pais;
Li priurs ert encuntre vus, 1895
Qui de vus ert liez e joius:
A grant joie vus recevra,
E en l'iglise vus menra.
La porte ert apres refermée
Par unt vus eüstes l'entrée." 1900
Il reçut lur benesiçon,
Si s'en eissi de la maisun.

* These words seem to properly belong after eum (next line).

1865 ke. — 1866 cume. — 1867 arcevesque. — 1870 lun commande. — 1872 ou. — 1875 doute; torment. — 1877 palfis uont.

1878 ou. — 1879 sentra. — 1881 oueraigne; maison. — 1883 baron. — 1883 enz. — 1884 par. — 1887 Lont. — 1888 li. — 1889 kil; touz. — 1891 Biau; chier. — 1893 Qe; suspris. — 1894 adiorne. — 1895 priors; encontre. — 1896 Qi; lees. — 1901 benesiçon. — 1902 issi; maison.

que hora, qua prior portam aperuit, miles, de intro veniens, apparuit. Quem cum laudibus prior Christi suscipiens [in]* ecclesiam introduxit, ibique iterum .XV. diebus in oracionibus permanere fecit.

XXI. Sicque, cruce in humero accepta, Jerosolimam perrexit, et, inde rediens, regem dominum suum consulturus adiit, [fo. 146b] ut ejus concilio secundum illum religionis ordinem viveret, quem rex ipse laudaret.

Diebus autem illis, quibus in curia regis ipse moraretur pro causa hujusmodi, (*sic*), memorie pie abbas Gervatius illius [*read* Ludensis]* cenobii, qui ab eodem rege [*constructus*] locum ad construendam abbatiam adquisivit, monachum suum nomine Gilbertum,

118a A LA porte vint de cler jur;
Encuntre lui vint le priur
Qui volentiers l'a receu: 1905
Mult fu liez quant il l'out veu.
En l'iglise le fist entrer,
E quinze jurs la demurer
En jeûnes e oraisuns, 1910
En veilles e afflicciuns.
Puis recunta ço que il vit
E il le mistrent en escrit.
En honur Deu sun creatur,
Croisier se fist par grant amur:
Requerre le voleit el liu 1915
U le dampnerent li Juiv.

EN Jerusalem en ala
E ariere [s'en] repaire;
A sun seigneur le rei revint
E il volentiers le retint. 1920
Tut en ordre li a cunté
De sa vie la verité:
Cunseil li quist e demanda
De sa vie qu'il [l']en loa:
S'il deüst moigne devenir 1925
U quel religiun tenir.
E li reis li a respundu
Chevaliers seit, si cum il fu;
Ço li loa il a tenir,
En ço poeit Deu bien servir. 1930
119b Si fist il bien tute sa vie:
Pur altre ne chanja il mie.

EN icel tens issi avint
Qu'uns des moignes de Cisteus vint
Que lur abes i enveia: 1935
Par qui a icel rei manda
D'un liu qu'anceis li out pramis.
Pur ço l'aveit a lui tramis:
Pur saveir u li lius serreit

*AClgK.
1904 Encuntre.—1905 lad.—1906 fud lez.—1908 demorer.—
1909 e en oreisons.—1910 e en afflicciuns.—1911 reconta; kil.
—1913 de deu.—1914 Croisier.—1916 Ou: ieu.—1917 ierlm—

1919 son.—1921 lui ad.—1923 Conseil lui.—1926 Ou; religion.
—1927 lui ad respundu.—1929 lui.—1930 poeit (il).—1932
autre; changa.—1934 Ka.—1935 Qe; ennea.—1937 kenceia.—
1939 Ou.

qui postea fuit abbas de [Basingewere],*
apud eundem regem in Hibernia misit,
ut et locum reciperet et abbatiam in-
ciperet. Cum ergo ad regem veniens
conquestus esset, quod patrie illius lin-
guam nesciret, "O," inquit rex, "Deo
auxiliante, dabo tibi [bonum]† inter-
pretem," et, vocato milite ipso, jussit ei
rex ut maneret cum eodem Gilberto.

Nec renuit miles, sed concessit, re-
gique domino suo ita dixit:

"Gratanter debeo eis servire, et gau-
denter debetis monachos [Cisterci or-
dinis]‡ suscipere, quoniam, ut verum
fatear, in tanta gloria non vidi homines
alios esse, in quanta vidi illos." Sicque
miles cum ipso Gilberto mansit, sed
nec monachus nec conversus esse voluit;
quin potius se servum domui reddidit.
Abbatiam igitur constituere ceperunt,
et duobus annis ac dimidio in ea simul
manserunt. Gilbertus domus illius erat
celerarius; miles vero in omnibus nego-
ciis erat minister fidelis et interpres fuit
ei devotus.

*K; blank in J. †AK. ‡K.

1940 Ou.—1941 Gerveises.—1942 fud.—1943 qe eunes.—1944
de Irlande.—1945 sun.—1946 fud; p.—1947 kout.—1948 Ou;
aise.—1949 lui.—1950 Ou.—1951 moines; kil.—1952 Coment.—
1955 lui; doute.—1956 compaignie.—1957 prodome; latimer.

U l'abbeie fundereit. 1940

Gerveises out li abes nun:

Mult fu de grant religiun

Cil de Cisteus qui enveia

A cel rei d'Irlande e manda

Par Gilebert (un suen profes 1945

Qui fu abes puis sun deces)

De l'abbeie qu'out pramisse,

U ele devreit estre assise.

Li reis li fist le liu mustrer

U l'abbeie volt funder. 1950

Li moignes dist qu'il ne saveit

Cument il i arestereit:

Il ne saveit ne n'out apris

Le language de cel pais.

Li reis li dist: "N'en dutez mie, 1955

Jo vus metrai en compaignie

Un produme e bon latimier."

Dunc apela le chevalier

119c Owein, si li preia e dist

Qu'od lui alast, si l'apresist. 1960

BIEN l'otreia li chevaliers

E dist al rei que volentiers

Le servireit a sun plaisir,

Que de ço faire out grant desir.

"Veirs est, nel *celerai* or mie, 1965

Tant cum jo fu en l'autre vie

Vi jo, si l'ai bien en memoire,

Que cil furent en greignur gloire,

De lur ordre e de lur cuvent,

Que tut le plus de l'autre gent." 1970

Issi remest od Gilebert

Li chevaliers e bien le sert;

Mais ne voleit changier sun estre:

Moignes ne cunvers ne volt estre.

En nun de chevalier morra, 1975

Ja altre abit nen recevra.

Cil dui funderent l'abbeie

—1958 Don; chenaler.—1959 lui peia.—1960 Kod.—1961 lotrea.
—1962 ke.—1963 plaisir.—1965 celer ore.—1966 come; fud;
lautre.—1968 Ke.—1969 couent.—1970 tuit; autre.—1971
remist.—1973 Meis; changer.—1974 Moigne; couvers.—1975
non.—1976 autre.

De ipso vero milite Gilbertus testatur quod [sancte et religiose]* viveret, quamdiu cum ipso morabatur. Quando vero aliquis cum eo solus fuit hic (*sic*) illum sepe pro edificacione narrare fecit. Postea vero monachi, qui cum eo missi fuerunt, locum illum reliquerunt et, ad Lundense [*read* Ludense]* cenobium in Angliam redeuntes, militem sancte et honeste viventem in Hybernia dimiserunt.

XXII. Hec cum ipse Gilbertus coram multis, meque audiente, sicut sepe a milite audierat, pro edificacione retulisset, unus affuit qui hec ita esse se dubitare dixit: cui Gilbertus ita respondit, quod [fo. 147a] "sunt (inquit) qui dicunt intrantes, cum primam † aulam intraverunt, in imagine ‡ fieri, et predicta in spiritu videri. Quod quidem miles omnino esse non concessit, quia corporalibus oculis se vidisse et in corpore corporaliter pertulisse dicit." Adiecitque Gilbertus: "Si non credis que ab eo audiui, crede saltem quae oculis meis vidi.

*AClgK. †A primum. ‡AClgK extasi.
1979 celerers.—1980 ses latimers.—1981 leaus sergans.—
1982 bosoigns.—1983 diml.—1985 Gilbert; ke.—1987 come.—
1989 confession.—1990 Laisserent toute; maison.—1991 moine
autre mansion.—1992 (alue); engleterre.—1994 remist.—1996

E mistrent genz de bone vie;
Gileberz en fu celeriers,
E Oweins fu sis latimiers. 1980
Mult par [li] fu leials serjanz,
E en tuz ses bosoinz aidanz.
Ensemble dous anz e demi
Furent e puis s'en departi.
Gileberz dit que seintement 1985
Viveit e mult honestement
119d Tant cum li chevaliers i fu;
Mult en out grant cunfort perdu.
Après ço par cunfessiun,
Laisserent tute la maisun: 1990
Li moigne, altre mansiun querre,
Vindrent a Lue, en Engleterre.
Li chevaliers honestement
Remest e vesqui seintement.
Quant il morut, a Deu rendi 1995
S'alme, que bien l'out deservi.

Cist Gileberz cunta suvent
Cez choses devant meinte gent,
Pur edifier les oianz
E qu'a bien fussent entendanz. 2000
Un en i out qui ço ol,
Duta qu'il ne fust mie issi.
Gileberz en respondi tant:
"Qu'il n'erent mie bien creant
Qui diënt qu'espirtelment 2005
Veient en nun corporelment,
(Quant il entrent en la maisun
Qu'est de Deu espurgaciun)
Les granz peines e les turmenz
Qui sunt establiz la dedenz. 2010
Li chevaliers tut ço desdit,
Qui tut corporelment le vit;
En char e en os les turmenz
Suffrit quant il fu la dedenz.

ke.—1997 conta souent.—1998 Ces.—2000 ka; fuissent.—2002
kil.—2003 respondi.—2004 Kil.—2005 kesp.—2006 non.—2007
maison.—2008 Qe; espurgacion.—2009 tormenz.—2013 tor
menz.—2014 Suffrir; fud.

XXIII. "In domo cui prefui, monachum satis religiosum vidi, qui, cum bonis operibus toto corde esset intentus, a demonibus, qui ei inuidebant, dormiens de dormitorio corporaliter est elatus. Qui ita, nescientibus cunctis quod ei acciderit, tribus diebus ac tribus noctibus a conventu abfuit. Sicque postea relatus et in lecto jactatus, pene ad mortem usque est flagellatus, et horrende per loca in corpore vulneratus a demonibus fuit, et, sicut ipse mihi dixit, stupenda et horrenda tormenta vidit, que minime oblivioni tradidit: et .XV. annos postea vixit.

"Sed vulnera, que a demonibus illi infixi sunt, in vita sua non fuerunt sanata. Nullo enim medicamine sanari potuerit (*sic*), sed semper aperta et quasi recentia fuerunt. Fuit autem vulnerum illorum aliud ita profundum, ut longior digitus suus in eo posset intrare usque ad manum. Et quando vidisset aliquem juvenem ridere, vel aliquam exordinationem facere, sic solitus est dicere: 'O si scires quanta huic * exordinationi manet pena, certe non faceres ita.'"

Haec, pater venerande, predictus

* J hec.

2016 creles.—2017 Creles; ke; oills.—2019 maison.—2020 Ou; religion.—2023 dortur.—2024 couent.—2025 dormir.—2028 dortur.—2029 ke; couenz.—2030 ses.—2031 lont.—2033 couenz;

- 120a Se ço ne volez otrrier, 2015
Ne ne creëz le chevalier,
Creëz mei qui de mes oeilz vi
Ço que jo vus dirai ici:
- "Jo fu ja en une maisun
U out, de grant religion, 2020
Un moigne qui mult se pena
De Deu servir e mult l'ama.
El durtur vit apertement,
Une nuit, entre le cuvent,
Si cum il jut e dut dormir, 2025
Les diables a lui venir,
Qui corporelment le ravirent
E del durtur le departirent,
Si que li cuvenz nel sout mie.
Tant orent de *sun* [bien] envie, 2030
Treis jurs e treis nuz l'unt tenu;
Li cuvenz ne sout u il fu.
Puis le porterent a sun lit,
Enz le jeterent par despit
Tut flaëlé e debatu 2035
Desqu'a la mort e navrez fu.
Plaies out parfundes e granz,
Par tut le cors aparissanz.
Il meismes les me mostra
Apertement sil me cunta 2040
(Ço sachiez bien) qu'um ne pot mie
Saner ses plaies e[n] sa vie:
- 120b Mult erent horribles e granz,
Tuz jurs noveles parissanz.
Tel plaie i out qui fu rofnde 2045
E desmesurée e parfunde;
E me *dist* qu'a sun plus lung deit
La parfundesce n'ateindreit.
E quant il vit la juevne gent
Gabber desordenéement, 2050
Tut apertement lur diseit,
S'il seüssent quels atendeit,

ou.—2036 Deska; naure.—2040 conta.—2041 kon.—2044 iors;
e (parissanz).—2045 que.—2046 desmesures.—2047 dit ka.—
2048 natendrit.—2049 ioune.—2051 Tuit.—2052 kala.

Gilbertus et mihi et aliis pro edificatione narravit, sic ipse ab ipso milite sepe audivit. Ego vero, sequens sensum verborum et narrationis ejus, prout intelligere potui, dixi vobis. *Si quis autem me reprehendere voluerit, sciat me quod vestra hoc scribere jussio coegit. Valete.*

MS. B (Fo. 111, B, Col. 2).

XXIV. Ego autem, post quam hec omnia audieram, duos de Hibernia abbates, ut adhuc cercior fierem, super his conveni. Quorum unus quod nunquam in patria sua audierat talia, respondit. Alius vero quod multotiens hec audierit, et quod essent omnia vera, affirmavit. Sed et hoc testatus est, quod idem purgatorium raro quis intrantium redit.

MS. K (Fo. 84, B).

XXV. Forte et hoc anno instanti affatus sum episcopum, nepotem Sancti Patricii tertii, Sancti Malachie scilicet socii [fo. 85a] Florentianum nomine, in cujus episcopatu, sicut ipse mihi dixit, est prefatum purgatorium; de quo cum curiosius interrogarem si verum esset quod de eo audivi, respondit ipse episcopus mihi: "Verum est, frater, certe, et in episcopatu meo est locus ille, et multi homines in eo pereunt; et qui forte redeunt, semper sunt infirmi, et nunquam sicut alii homines sunt colorati, pro multis tormentis que paciuntur ibi. Sed si postea in bono perseveraverint,

E quels turmenz e quel ennui,
Il ne gabbereient nului.
Quinze anz apres, sun tens fini; 2055
Jo ne l'ai pas mis en obli."

Gileberz cunta icel fait
A l'autor quil nus a retrait,
Si cum Oweins li out cunté,
E li moignes dunt ai parlé: 2060
Ço que jo vus ai ici dit
E tut mustré par mun escrit.

E puis parlai a dous abbez:
D'Irlande erent bons ordenez.
Si lur demandai de cel estre, 2065
Si ço poeit veritez estre.
Li uns affirma que veirs fu
De l'espurgatoire e seü
Que plusur humé i entrèrent
Qui unques puis ne retournerent. 2070

120c EN cel an meismes trovai
Un evesque a qui jo parlai.
Nevuz fu al tierz Seint Patriz
Qui cumpainz ert Seint Malachiz.
Florenciens aveit a nun; 2075
Il me cunta en veir sermun
Que l'espurgatoire ert assis
En s'eveschié e la fu quis.
Ententivement li enquis
Si ço fust veirs, que l'en ert vis: 2080
E il me dist: "Certinement,
Que c'esteit veirs," e dist cument:
"Que plusur [i] entrèrent ja
Dunt unques nuls n'en repaira.
Tels i out qui ariere vindrent 2085

2053 tormenz.—2054 nullui.—2057 conta.—2058 kil; ad.—2159 conte.—2060 lai.—2061 ci.—2063 io a.—2064 De Irlande.—2067 ke.—2069 Qe plusurs homes.—2070 Qi unkes; retournerent.—2071 meimes.—2072 eveske.—2073 Neuos fud; seinz.

—2074 compaigns; seinz.—2076 conta.—2077 Ke; assise.—2078 E sa evesche; fud quise.—2079 lui.—2080 ke.—2082 Qe; comment.—2083 Qe plusurs.—2084 unkes nul.—2085 arere.

certi sunt quod alias penas pro ipsis
peccatis non sustinebunt.

XXVI. "Nunc autem est ibi juxta
heremita unus manens, qui est vir bonus
et sanctus: et omni nocte visibiliter con-
gregantur demones infra ambitum cel-
lule sue, statim post solis occasum, et sic
tenentes suum placitum ante solis ortum
recedunt. Et cum congregati fuerint,
narrant singuli magistro suo quid in die
egerint. Sanctus autem vir ille vidit
manifeste demones, et noctibus singulis
audit eorum narrationes. Ad hostium
vero celle ejus veniunt, set intrare non
possunt. Et quasi nudas mulieres ibi
multotiens ostendunt. Sicque fit ut per
narraciones demonum sciat heremita ille
vitam in patria illa plurimorum."

MS. B.

Hec cum dixisset episcopus, ait capel-
lanus ei [fo. 112a]: "Ego eundem
virum sanctum vidi, et narrabo vobis, si
placet, quod ab eo didici." Jubente
vero episcopo, ut narraret, sic intulit:

E qui les [granz] turmenz sustindrent:
Tuz jurs furent puis en langur
E perdirent dreite colur,
Pur les turmenz qu'il orent la,
E l'anguisse qui [lur] greva. 2090
Si puis fussent de bone vie,
Sals serreient, n'en dutez mie,
E delivres de lur pechiez,
Kar il en furent espurgiez.

"Pres de cel liu a un seint hume 2095
Que nus tenuns a mult produme;
Hermites est de bone vie.
Chascune nuit, ço ne faut mie,
120d Ot les diables assembler
Entur sun purpris e parler; 2100
Aneire apres soleil culchant,
A veüe vienent avant
E si tienent lur parlement;
Einz le jur partent veirement.
En dementiers qu'il iluec sunt, 2105
Al maistre diënt ço qu'il funt.
Li seinz les veit apertement,
E ot lur cuntes mult suvent.
A sa celle le vunt tempter,
Mes ne pueent dedenz entrer. 2110
En semblance de femmes nues
Se mustrent, que la sunt venues
Pur lui deceivre e engignier,
E faire sun propos lessier.
Par els entendi de la gent 2115
La vie des plusurs suvent."

QUANT li evesques ne dist plus,
Uns suens chapeleins leva sus
E dist: "Sire, jo cunttereie,
Si vostre cungié en aveie, 2120
Del seint hume ço que jo vi,

2086 tormenz.—2087 plus.—2089 tormenz qil.—2090 les
anguisses kil.—2091 fuissent.—2092 ne dotez.—2093 pechez.—
2094 espurgez.—2095 ad; home.—2096 Qe; tenons; prodome.
—2101 couchant.—2102 uenent.—2103 tenent.—2104 ior.—2105

kil.—2106 mestre; kil.—2108 cotes; souent.—2109 nont.—
2110 poent.—2112 mustren ke.—2113 engigner.—2114 feire;
lessier.—2115 sus.—2116 de; souent.—2117 eusses.—2119 con
tereie.—2120 conge; auereie.—2121 home.

"Centum miliaribus distat cella viri 121a illius a pede montis sancti Brandani, juxta quem montem manet alius quidam heremita, quem, sicut predictus vir dixit, plus desideraret alloqui quam alium quemquam in hac mortali vita. Quem cum interrogarem, que causa fuerit, et cur ipsius alloquium eatenus optaverit: 'quia demonum,' inquit, 'narratione didici non eum sicut heremitam vivere. Gaudent enim in concilio suo, et congratulantur ad invicem, quod eum tam facile seducunt. Set et hoc quod ab eis nuper audisse contigit et vidisse narrabo:

'Cum quadam nocte congregati fuissent, et magistro suo singuli precedentis opera diei retulissent, affuit inter alios unus cui, qui princeps eorum videbatur, ait: "Numquid portas aliquid ad manducandum?" Et ille: "Porto." "Et quid," inquit, "portas?" "Porto," ait, "panem et caseum, butirum et farinam." Cui magister: "Unde hec tibi?" Et ille: "Duo," inquit, "hodie olerici venerunt ad domum cujusdam

E ço que jo de lui oi."
 Li evesques li dist: "Cuntez."
 Li altre dist: "Beals sire, oëz:
 La celle u cist sainz est mananz— 2125
 Cent liues loinz, lunges e granz,
 I aveit del munt Seint Brandan,
 U uns altre out esté meint an,
 Qui aveit cele vie eslite,
 E que l'um teneit pur hermite. 2130
 Jo ving parler a cest seint hume,
 E il me dist, c'en est la sume,
 'Qu'il n'out unques si grant desir
 De rien qui peüst avenir,
 Cum il aveit eü suvent 2135
 D'a lui parler a sun talent.'
 Jo demandai purquei ço fu,
 Que tel desir en out eü?
 'Pur ço que j'ai suvent oi
 Les diables cunter ici 2140
 En gabbant trestute sa vie:
 Cum hermites ne vit il mie.
 Quant il viennent ici les nuiz,
 Ço est lur joie e lur deduiz
 De lui e des autres reprendre 2145
 Qu'il funt a lur oeuvres entendre.
 J'oi l'autre nuit veirement
 Ço que jo vus dirai briefment:
 L'autre nuit furent ajusté
 Li diable e ci assemblé, 2150
 E cunterent a lur seignur
 Ço qu'il aveient fait *le jur*.
 Avant veneient un e un;
 Li maistre d'els apela l'un
 E li fist une tel demande: 2155
 S'aporté out point de viande?
 "Oï," dist il, "pain e ferine,
 Fumage e bure en ma saisine."
 "E u le purchaastes vus?"

2123 evesques lui; contes.—2124 autre; bel; oies.—2125 ou.
 2126 longes.—2128 Ou; autre.—2130 ke lom.—2131 home.—
 2132 some.—2133 Kil.—2134 que.—2135 souent.—2139 ke;
 souent.—2140 conter.—2142 heremites.—2143 usent.—2144

lor (deduiz).—2145 autres.—2146 Kil.—2147 l'autre.—2148
 dirra.—2149 L'autre.—2150 ici.—2151 conterent.—2152 kil;
 lour.—2153 lui; tele.—2154 Si aporte.—2155 saisine.—2156
 ou puchac.

rustici divitis, et petebant elemosinam in caritate Christi. Rusticus autem, habens hec omnia in conclavi, juravit, per sanctam caritatem Christi, se nichil habere, quod posset eis largiri: et ob ejus perjurium amisit, quod habuit. Nam ut ea surriperem, michi concessum est." Mane igitur egressus reperi que audieram a demone nominari, scilicet panem et caseum, butirum et farinam. Set nolens ut inde quisquam gustasset, omnia projecit in foveam.'

"Est et aliud quod tue dilectioni refero, quod et te mente retinere cupio; illudque referre ceteris, ut eorum insidias caveant, memento:

MS. K

XXVII. "Sacerdos quidam sancte vite et honeste parochiam regebat in hac patria, cujus talis fuit consuetudo: ut cotidie mane surgens, ad ecclesiam iret, prius cimiterium circuiret, et pro animabus eorum quorum ibi corpora quiescebant, .vij. Psalmos decantaret. Caste vero vixit, et bonis operibus atque doctrine sollicite operam dedit. Demones vero multociens conquesti sunt de eo, quod

"Jol dirai," fait [il], "bien a vus: 2160

" "Dui clerc vindrent a un vilein,
 Sil demanderent de sun pein
 Par charité e altre bien:
 Il ne lur voleit duner rien;
 E si out assez guarnisun, 2165
 Pain e viande en sa maisun.
 La charité prist a jurer
 Qu'il ne lur out rien que duner;
 E pur ço qu'il se parjura,
 Pris ço qu'il out e perdu l'a; 2170
 De ço aveie poësté.
 Ci devant vus l'ai aporté."
 Apres iço s'en repairierent
 Li diable e iluec laissierent
 La viande qu'il out emblée 2175
 Al vilain e la aportée.
 Matin i ving, si la trovai,
 En une fosse la jettai;
 En dute fui qu'um la trovast,
 S'alcuns venist, si la manjast.' 2180

"Uncor vus vueil jo plus cunter
 Dunt chascuns se doit amender
 121c E garder d'engin des diables
 Qui est subtils e decevables:

"Uns prestre esteit de seinte vie, 2185
 De Deu servir ne cessa mie.
 Matin levout al Deu servise;
 Mais einz qu'il entrast en l'iglise,
 El cimetire demurout
 E ses quinze salmes chantout 2190
 Pur les almes dunt li cors sunt
 En cel liu e par tut le munt.
 Chastement se tint e guarda
 E bien e bel endoctrina

2160 dirrai.—2161 Dous clers.—2163 autre.—2164 doner.—
 2165 guarisun.—2168 Kil; ke doner.—2169 kil.—2170 kil.—
 2171 (aveie) jo.—2173 repairerent.—2174 iluec laisserent.—

2175 kil.—2179 kom.—2180 Si aukuns; mangast.—2181 uoll;
 conter.—2183 del diable.—2184 subtil; deceuable.—2188 ens
 kil.—2189 demorout.—2193 garda.

nullus eorum illum flectere posset a proposito. Increpabat autem eos et satellites magister, quod tam diu in bono permansisset presbiter. Et accedens unus demonum, 'Ego,' inquit 'artem inveni, per quam decipiam illum. Ego enim jam preparavi mulie- [fo. 85b] rem, per cujus eum ego decipiam et deiciam speciem. Set non nisi infra .xv. annos id facere potero.' 'Si,' inquit magister, 'infra .xv. annos deiceres, magnam rem faceres.' [*Heremita vero hec audiens doluit, et de lapsu sacerdotis metuens, sacerdotem vocavit, et omnia ei per ordinem ostendit. Sacerdos ideo deo gratias reddidit, quod talia per servum suum dignabatur ei ostendere. Et sic ab hac die jejunijs, vigilijs et oracionibus magis ac magis de die in diem carnem suam legitime macerabat.*]* In illis autem diebus, quibus hec a demonibus dicta sunt, venit secundum consuetudinem mane sacerdos, et circuiens cimiterium, repperit juxta crucem infantulam positam. Quam accipiens, commendavit eam nutrici, ut eam nutriret quasi suam filiam propriam. Que cum ablactata fuit, in filiam sibi eam adoptavit, et sanctimoniam eam facere proposuit et literas eam discere fecit. Que cum ad pubertatis annos pervenisset, et illius pulcritudini presbiter assuete et familiariter intendisset, cepit temptari de eius concupiscentia, quia, secundum carnis pulcritudinem vel potius putredinem, erat nimis speciosa. Et sepe quo secrecius et familiaris, eo frequentius de ea

Icels qui en sa guarde esteient, 2195
E sun cunseil creire voleient.
Suvent se pleinstrent li diable
De sa vie nun reparnable,
E que nuls ne[1] poeit turner
De Deu servir ne d'aürer. 2200
Li maistre diables blasma
Ses serjanz que nuls nel tempta
E nel osta de sun purpens,
Li uns li dit: 'Mult a lung tens
Que j'ai entur lui demuré; 2205
Ore a primes ai tant ovré
Qu'entre ci e quinze anz l'avrai
Enfantosmé, sil decevrai
Par un engin, mes ne puet estre
Qu'einceis seit deceñz li prestre. 2210
121d Par une femme ai purvetü
Que dunc l'avrai tost deceñ.'
Li mestre dit: 'Mult avez fait
S'en cel terme l'avez atrait
De pechier par temptaciun; 2215
De mei avrez bon gueredun.'

"AL demain, si cum il soleit,
Leva li prestre e ala dreit
El cimetire e a vetü
Un enfant qui jetez i fu. 2220
Delez la croiz jetez esteit;
Femele fu, il la perneit;
Nurice quist, si li bailla,
Cume sa fille la guarda.
Il li feseit lettres aprendre, 2225
Al Deu servise la volt rendre.
Quant ert en l'eé de quinze anz,
Mult ert bele e creñe e granz.
Li prestre l'esguarda suvent
Par le diable enortement. 2230
De sa bealté s'esmerveilla

* The passage in brackets was wanting in the text used by Marie de France.

2195 Icels; garde.—2196 conseil.—2197 Souvent.—2199 ke.—2201 diable blama.—2202 sergans ke.—2204 ad long.—2205

demore.—2206 primis.—2207 Que entre.—2209 pot.—2210 Ke; deceñ.—2212 Qe donc.—2215 temptacion.—2216 auerez; guerdon.—2217 (initial forgotten).—2219 ad.—2223 la.—2225 la.—2226 uout.—2228 bele.—2229 souvent.—2231 beaute.

temptatus, nuper consensum pecijt et invenit. Quod enim a presbitero petebatur virgo concessit. Nichil tamen adhuc de corrupcione peregerunt aliud. Nocte sequenti, postea quam virgo concessit accionem sacerdoti, demones, qui hoc loco convenerunt, gaudium de ejus lapsu magnum fecerunt. Et enim demon ille, qui eum sponndit deicere, magistro suo cepit dicere: 'Dixi annos .xv. quod per mulierem deicerem illum sacerdotem. Jam feci illum a virgine, quam sibi in filiam adoptavit, petisse con[sensum, et tantum feci ut virgo ei prebuit assensum, et mane eos decipiam in]* [fo. 86a] meridie.' 'Visne,' inquit magister demonum, 'socios habere tecum?' 'Non est,' inquit, 'necesse ut socios habeam; per me ipsum illos deiciam.' Gracias igitur illi magister inde agebat, et illum viriliter egisse dicebat. Die crastina predictus presbiter virginem ad se vocans, in cubiculum suum introduxit et super lectum suum collocavit. [*Sicque Dei adhuc gracia protectus, et ab heremita iterum premunitus.*]* Stetit ante lectum cogitans quid ei esset agendum. Jussit ergo ut virgo in lecto exspectaret, donec ad illam rediret, et sic ad hostium cubiculi processit, et cultro arepto virilia abscidit, et foras projecit. 'Quid,' inquit, 'putatis, demones, quod non intellexerim temptationes vestras? De perdicione mea, vel filie mee, non gaudebitis, quia nec me nec illam habebitis!'

E en sun quer la cuveita;
Cum plus suvent la vit le jur
Tant fu plus espris de s'amur.
Il la requist, el l'otria, 2235
De faire ço que lui plerra.
La nuit apres, einz qu'il feïst
L'ovraigne dunt il la requist,
122a Furent li diable assemblé;
Chascuns a sun fait recunté. 2240
Cil qui entur le prestre fu
A devant tuz recuneü
Ço qu'il pramist dedenz quinze anz:
'Or ert li faiz aparissanz;
Demain ert li prestre traiz 2245
E par la femme mal bailliz
Qu'il a pur sa fille tenue,
Quant a sun lit l'avra eüe
Einz miedi: que chascuns l'oie.'
Mult en firent entr'els grant joie: 2250
'E lui e li amdous avrurs,
Kar ensemble les decevrurs.'
Li mestre dist: 'Voels tu aïe?'
'Naïe,' dist il, 'jo n'en quier mie.'
Mult li saveit bon gré sis mestre. 2255
Or oïez cum ovra li prestre:
"EL demain la meschine apele
Si li dist tant: 'Ore alez, bele,
La enz culchier desur mun lit,
Si acumplirai mun delit.' 2260
La meschine delivrement
Aveit fait sun cumandement.
Li prestre vint, si l'esguarda,
Mult durement se purpensa
De l'ovraigne qu'il devait faire, 2265
122b U li diables le volt traire,
Par quei avreit le bien perdu
Qu'il aveit fait e meintenu.

* Written on the margin. † Not in Marie's original.

2232 coueita.—2233 souent.—2234 fud.—2237 kil.—2238 loneraigne dont; requist.—2240 ad; reconté.—2242 ad; reconu.—2244 fait.—2246 maubailliz.—2247 ad.—2248 lauera.—2249 midi ke.—2250 entreus.—2251 ambdui aurons.—2252

deceurons.—2253 dit uols.—2254 Nai en.—2255 ses.—2256 lui; (ore) a le.—2259 cucher.—2260 acomplirai.—2262 commande-ment.—2264 porpensa.—2265 oueraigne kil.—2266 Ou; uoleit.—2267 tut (le bien).—2268 Kil.

- La grace de Deu i ovra:
 Hors s'en eissi, cele i laissa; 2270
 Un cultel prist que il porta
 E ses genitailles trencha.
 Hors les jeta de maintenant,
 E puis dist as diables tant:
 Oëz, esprit malfaisant! 2275
 Ja mes ne serrez joïssant
 De la nostre perdition
 Par ceste malvaise achaisun.'
- "Sequenti vero nocte interrogavit magister demonum discipulum si fecisset quod se facturum promisit in meridie. Ille vero omnem laborem suum se dixit amisisse, et quid sacerdos fecisset, cepit enarrate (*read -re.*) Jussu igitur magistri, demon ab alijs flagellatur, et sic cum ejulatu recedentes horrido, et totum eorum placitum dissipatur. [*Heremita vero hec audiens, gavisus est valde, et inde gracias deo reddidit.*]* Sacerdos autem virginem, quam quasi filiam nutritiv, deo servitutam in monasterio commendavit." Explicit.
- "La nuit apres que cest fait fu,
 Sunt li diable revenu; 2280
 Li maistre d'els apele avant
 Celui qui li out cuvenant
 Qu'einz miedi avreit le jur
 Trai le prestre, en sa folur.
 Demande lui qu'il en a fait; 2285
 Il respondi: 'Malement vait;
 Tut mun travail i ai perdu.'
 Devant tuz lur a cuneti
 Cument li prestre aveit [ovré.]
 Assez aveit de tuz mal gré; 2290
 Lur mestre dit a ses privez:
 'A lui!' fait il, 'sil me batez
 E flaëlez mult durement!'
 Dunc s'en partent od cel turment.
 122c La meschine dedenz l'iglise 2295
 Mist li prestrë, al Deu servise."
- Jo, Marie, ai mis en memoire
 Le livre de l'Espurgatoire:*
 122d *En Romanz qu'il seit entendables
 A laie gent e cuvenables. 2300
 Or preium Deu que par sa grace
 De noz pechiez mundes nus face.*

* Not in Marie's original.

2270 issi; leissa. — 2271 coutel; kil. — 2273 geta. — 2275
 espiris maufelsanz. — 2276 ioissanz. — 2277 perdition. — 2278
 malweise achaisun. — 2279 ke. — 2281 meistre de eus. — 2282

lui; couenant. — 2283 ke. — 2285 kil; ad fait. — 2286 lui re-
 spondit; ueit. — 2288 ad conu. — 2289 Coment le. — 2292 Al. —
 2297 Joe. — 2299 kil. — 2300 gens; couenables. — 2301 Ore
 preiom; ke pur. — 2302 nos; Amen.

REMARKS ON THE FRENCH TEXT

The heading: *Ci parout des peines que sunt en purgatoire* is a late addition.

3. Warnke prefers *mettre un escrit*, leaving 4 and 6 unchanged. This, however, would destroy the expression *mettre en memoire*, which Marie uses again in the Epilogue (l. 2297). *Mettre en escrit* occurs again at l. 1912, also *Milun* 538.

9. The following considerations argue that the translation begins here: 1) the agreement in meaning with the Latin text is close, as well for ll. 9-16 as for ll. 16-30; 2) the feminine participles in the MS. make small difficulty (similar errors ll. 1025, 1026, 2077, 2078). As Marie names herself (l. 2297), any copyist, not knowing the Latin original, would feel called upon to substitute the feminine. Roquefort's remark (II, 407) is then most probably without any basis: "Marie prévient qu'elle a traduit ce poème à la prière d'un homme prudent et sage, dont elle a reçu des bienfaits," etc.

79. *punz levez*. I can find no other instances where this expression is employed for the usual *punz levez*.

94. *ci nus dit*. A regular translator's formula, which I have restored at ll. 177, 443.

129. *custus* appears to be synonymous with *costif* (cf. *orages costis*, *Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem*, etc., 884, ed. Koschwitz. See his note, p. 63). The double formation has parallels in *oisif*, *oiseus* (Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, II, § 497), *poucious*, *poussif* (*Romania* Vol. XXIV, 451), etc.

131. The break in sense argues for two or more lines missing; or ll. 131, 132 may not be Marie's.

135-6. Perhaps: *Si cume chartre, est tenebrus A cels qu'i sunt [e] perillus*. Cf. 1388. Or: *a cels qui nuisent*, with adjectives unchanged. A translator of Revelations (XXII, 11) quoted by Burguy (II, 251) uses *cil qui nuist* in the sense of "the unjust man."

180. Warnke considers my correction unintelligible. I understand as follows: We are told, further, that mortal men in bodily person have seen these (spiritual) things (and found them to be) similar to the bodily substance of man both in shape and appearance. This is fairly equivalent to the original, *Unde . . . specie*. Cf. l. 704; for the inversion, cf. l. 267.

299. For St. Malachy (also mentioned l. 2075) see Eckleben, p. 54. The Life referred to is that by St. Bernard: *Vita Malachiae* (Migne, *Cursus Patrol.*, clxxxii, col. 1059).

303. Warnke says: "Such an apposition is impossible." It is found, however, in *Aucassin et Nicolette*¹ 1, 4 (cf. Suchier's Note, p. 49).

328. *esvanit* (: *dit*). The retention of -t is explained in Risop's Studies on the -ir Conjugation, p. 18.

341. *cimiteire*. Same orthography *Fables* 25, 17; *cimetire* ll. 2189, 2219.

506. *Owein*. "The Welsh name Owen has always been chosen by English (or Anglo-Irish) writers to represent the Irish Eogan, though the two names were originally quite disconnected." (Note by Ward, II, 435.)

510. The rime shows *espurgatoire* (hence also *purgatoire*) to be masculine, in spite of ll. 2077-8: *Que l'espurgatoire ert assise En s'eveschié e la fu quise*. Anglo-Norman copyists tend, according to Suchier (St. Auban, p. 49) to make fems. of masc. nouns in final atonic *e*; so *adjutorie* in MS. P Alexis 101d.

590. Cf. ll. 1503, 1855, and *se hasta de l'entrer*, *Aliscans* l. 1646.

619. *crois*. This word translates *cavitatem* (con~~c~~avitatem AClg) and means no doubt

"hollow." Godefroy quotes *Si l'en feri le crois del chief* (Ogier l. 3123) and translates "sommet de la tête." The word belongs probably with the adj. *crues* (*cruese*, *Lays*, *Bis*. 93. MS. *cruose*). For a word of the same form, see *Reimpredigt*, p. 79.

645. *despit*. The sense is poor, but is supported by the Latin MSS. (*les*, i. e. in *nes*, no doubt refers to *tuz*, l. 640). Are two lines missing?

648. G. Paris would read *cuers*. Of course, the two words at times nearly coincide in meaning, as (*les mos*) *moult li entrerent el cors*. (*Auc. et Nic.*³ 23, 3.)

690. *wandiches* (?) I am still unable to identify this word. *Vousurs*, it seems, might be corrected to *vousures*, both on account of the form and meaning (the word denoted "the under-surfaces or steppings of recessed arches") and on account of the reading at this same passage of the unpublished translation of the Tractatus contained in the British Museum MS. *Harley* 273 (= *Bib. Nat.*, fds. frq. 2198): *Si bel pareis ne closture, Ne mes pilers ne vousure Com out la sale environ sei Ne fist baron, conte ne rei* (ll. 146-147).

733. *multitudine*, as a fem. substantive, occurs also in the Oxford Psalter, V., 7, 12.

894. The line is amended after l. 1299.

1009. MS. *asquanz*, so ll. 1093, 1095, 1097; but *li alquant* l. 1203. The latter form seems preferable, though not certain. Cf. *Fables*, Einl. p. cxxxv; *Journey of Charlemagne*, etc., Einl. p. xlviii.

1046. *a vis unques* = "hardly" (cf. 1190, 1817.) In all three instances, this phrase translates Latin *vix*. This French form is wanting in Körtling's *Lat.-Rom. Wtb.*¹ 8798, and in Diez, *Wtb.*² p. 428. Godefroy quotes examples from the *Dialogues of St. Gregory* and from Turpin's *Chronicle*; of *avis* alone, s. v. the substantive *avis* (*advisum).

1211. It is difficult to decide for or against *tendeient*=*tendebant* in *J*: *tendre la main à* is met with as early as the *Vie de St. Alexis* (75a).

1247. [*par*]*devers*. So the *Chanson Anonyme* printed in the Bartsch and Horning Chrestomathy 520, 21: *Par devers Duymois Vint Girars li cortois*. The *Espurg.* has *par desur*, *par devant*, *par desuz*; the *Fables* add *par deriere*. [*De*]*devers* (Warnke) would be satisfactory also (cf. *Eneas* 5305-6.)

1346. *plungerunt*=*demergeris* Lat. JK. The corresponding passage in Jean Belet's version (in the British Museum MS. *Additional* 6524) has: *te prendront moult tost e te plungeront el plus parfond d'enfer* (Ward, II, 477).

1381. *eslaisiez*. (G. P.) See Godefroy, s. v. *eslaisier* 1.

1660. G. Paris prefers *Ne rien que a nuisance seit*. This is not without support in the Latin. For "*amenuisance*," verbal substantive of *amenuisier* (= *amoindrir*, *Espurg.* 1761), see Godefroy, s. v. Burguy quotes *amenuissement* from the *Moralités sur Job*.

1672. "The reading of the MS. is untenable."—Warnke. I fail to find any defect in the line If 1673 be meant, and a criticism intended upon the odd mixture of 2 sg. and 2 pl., a glance at the subsequent lines (to 1688) will show what uncertain ground there is for changing the MS reading.

1822. *de l'oeil*. The Latin MSS., unfortunately, contain nothing answering to this line. The MS. has *deseil*, but *s* and *l* are sometimes confounded; cf. *sis* for *sil*, l. 973; *des* for *del* ll. 1403, 1622; *le* for *se*, l. 590. This fact, together with the sense and point of the passage (Marie means that the flame of the Holy Spirit was actually visible to the eye) point to *de l'oeil* as the correct reading. Warnke adopts this emendation, and, moreover, sees in this diphthongization of *o* before *l* *mouillé* an argument in favor of the supposition that Marie originally lived in the Isle-de-France (*Fables*, Einl., pp. lxxxi, cxi, cxxiv). The conclusion may be allowed—for other reasons; the rime *oeil*:*soleil* is, in itself, inconclusive, when we see that the Anglo-Norman MS. (probably the author's copy) of Angier's *Vie de St. Grégoire*, which was written in

England perhaps a decade later than the *Espurg.*, shows the same diphthongization. Cf. *veil: soleil*, ll. 31-32 (*Romania*, Vol. XII, p. 145).

1914. For Owein as Crusader, see Eckleben, p. 50.

1933 ff. For Gervasius, Abbot of Louth, see Eckleben, p. 52. For Gilbert of Louth, later abbot of Basingwerk (in whom, I am inclined to believe, we must see the real originator of the legend of Owein's visit to the future world), see Eckleben, pp. 51, 60, and especially Ward, Vol. II, p. 437. That both Marie (l. 1946) and *J* omit the name Basingwerk is probably only a chance coincidence.

1992. *a Lue* (= Luda). This abbey is usually referred to as Louth Park — Abbacia Parco Lude (Ludae). So Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. V, p. 413.

1998. Marie here passes over the phrase "*meque audiente*," but the fact that Henry was present when Gilbert related Owein's experiences, and those of the Monk of Basingwerk, appears at l. 2058.

2019. *une maisun*. This is the abbey of Basingwerk, above mentioned, for which see Dugdale, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 261, and Ward, Vol. II, p. 437.

2030. Cf. the prologue to *Guigemar*, ll. 9-10: *Cil ki de sun bien unt envie Sovent en dient vileinie*.

2056. Several Latin MSS. here add "*hucusque Gilbertus*," and here ended the MS. used by Jean Belet for the prose translation which he included in his *Lives of Saints* (Ward, Vol. II, p. 476). This MS. was of the same class as AJK. To the list of MSS. of the prose translation given by Krapp, p. 5, n. 1, should be added the following:

British Museum, *Additional*, 32623, fo. 146. Fifteenth century (See *Catalogue of Additions*, 1882-1887).

B(ibliothèque) N(ationale) f. fr. 183, ff., 242a-248a (See P. Paris, MSS. Frp., Vol. II p. 87.)

B. N., f. fr. 413, ff. 230-236. Fifteenth century.

B. N., f. fr. 423, ff. 35-39. Fourteenth century.

B. N., f. fr. 25,545, ff. 97a-104a. Thirteenth century.

B. N., f. fr. 25,547, fo. 244. (See F. Delisle, *Catalogue*, 1876).

B. N., f. fr. 25,553 (*ibid.*).

B. N., f. fr. 15,210, fo. 61 (*ibid.*).

Berne, MS. 205, ff. 139a-147a. Fifteenth century. (See Hagen, *Catalogue*, p. 250).

2075. For Florentianus, see Eckleben, p. 56; Ward, Vol. II, pp. 442-3.

2090. The dative is to be preferred (Warnke); cf. l. 397; *Dous Amanz*, l. 75.

2101. *Aneire apres* = statim post; so l. 1707, and *Chaitivel*, l. 22 (*Romania*, Vol. XIV p. 601). Godefroy s. v. *erre* 2 (in iter?).

2213. The punctuation reproduces the Latin.

2216. MS. K, which is given here with the French text, differs from other MSS. in connecting the tale of the *Priest and Girl* (ll. 2185-2296) with the *First Hermit*, instead of making it simply follow the account of the *Second Hermit*, as in Marie (Ward, Vol. II, p. 454). The sentences placed in brackets (here, and at l. 2294) are, therefore, in no sense omissions on Marie's part.

2284. G. Paris would read (objecting to *Trat*): *Trait le pruveire en sa folur*. But Marie apparently did not use the accus. *pruveire* (*Fables*, Einl., p. xci) and, seeing no way out of the difficulty, I leave the line unchanged. *Tratr* (= *decipere* in the original) is used l. 2245; for l. 2283-4 we have only *si fecisset quod se facturum promisit*.

2289. The rime-word is supplied from l. 2256; so l. 2206.

GLOSSARY

(There are included only such words as are not listed in Warnke's glossaries to the *Lays*¹ and the *Fables*, the aim being to complete in this way the *Vocabularium Mariæ Francicæ*.)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Absolu, 353. | bonement, 255, 454. | curt, 932. |
| acolite, 1551. | bruir, 898, 154. | custus, 129. |
| acomplir, 2260. | bure, 2158. | cuvent, 552. |
| acomunier, 314, 467. | | |
| adenz, 995. | Ceindre, 999. | dampnable, 246, |
| adversier, 1295. | celestiel, 1812. | dampner, 1336, 1440. |
| afflicciuns, 278. | celestien, 1650, 1806. | deces, 1946. |
| aguêce, 1005. | celestre, 784, 1784. | decevable, 756, 1368. |
| aidable, 809. | celle, 2109, 2125. | delices, 1418. |
| angle, 51, 409. | certein, 111. | delitable, 1633. |
| ajurner, 1894. | certeinement, 1719. | demustrement, 182. |
| ajuster, 2149. | chaitiveté, 1710. | demustrer, 266, 373. |
| amenuisance, 1660. | char (carrum), 1382. | desclore, 47. |
| amenuisier, 1761. | chartre, 135. | descorder, 90. |
| amerté, 940, 1693. | chastement, 2193. | descreistre, 1789. |
| aneire, 1707, 2101. | ciu, 134, | desdire, 2011. |
| anumber, 1413. | cloistre, 691. | desert, 302. |
| aparaistre, 82, 1627. | cloistrier, 1419. | desfens, 1696. |
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APPENDIX

(I add here the text of the British Museum MS., Royal 13 B viii denoted above as MS. B. This finely executed MS., now printed in full for the first time, is fully described by Mr. Ward, in his *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. II., p. 435 ff. A careful analysis of its contents also appeared in Dr. G. P. Krapp's *The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: its later literary history*, p. 6 ff.

The present diplomatic reprint is made from a copy of the original executed by Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the department of Manuscripts, British Museum, and kindly communicated to the editor by the owner, Mr. Krapp. The text has been re-compared with the original.)

INCIPIT PREFATIO DE PURGATORIO SANCTI PATRICII⁶

(British Museum, Royal MS. 13 B viii, fo. 100b.)

Patri suo in christo preoptato domino .H. abbati de sartis: frater .H. monachorum de salterea minimus. cum continua salute patri filius obedientie munus. Jussistis pater uenerande ut scriptum uobis mitterem. *quod de purgatorio in uestra me retuli audisse presentia. Quod quidem eo libentius aggredior: quo ad id explendum paternitatis uestre iussione instantius compellor. Licet enim utilitatem multorum per me prouenire desiderem: non nisi iussus tamen talia presumerem. Uestram uero minime lateat paternitatem: me numquam legisse quicquam uel audisse: unde in timore et amore dei tantum proficerem. Et quoniam beatum papam gregorium legimus multa dixisse de his que erga animas fiunt terrenis exutas, et corporali narratione plurima proposuisse. ut et tristibus negligentium animos terreret. et letis iustorum affectum ad deuotionem inflammaret: fiducialius quod iubetis ad profectum simplicium perficiam. In multis enim exemplis que proponit ad exitum animarum. angelorum bonorum siue malorum presentiam adesse dicit qui animas pro meritis uel ad tormenta pertrahant. uel ad requiem perducant. [fo. 101.] Sed et ipsas animas adhuc in corpore positas ante exitum multa aliquando de his que uentura sunt super eas siue ex responsione conscientie interiori. siue per reuelationes exterius factas: precise fatetur. Raptas etiam et iterum ad corpora reductas. uisiones quasdam et reuelationes sibi factas narrare dicit. siue de tormentis impiorum. seu de gaudiis iustorum. et in hiis tamen nichil nisi corporale uel corporibus simile recitasse. flumina. flammis. pontes. naues. domos. nemora. prata. flores. homines nigros uel candidos. et cetera qualia in hoc mundo solent uel ad gaudium amari: uel ad tormentum timeri. Se quoque solutas corporibus manibus trahi. pedibus duci. collo suspendi. flagellarj. precipitari. et multa huiusmodi. que nostre minime repugnant narrationi. Notum est. autem multos multotiens quesisse. qualiter anime a corporibus exeant. quo pergant. quid inueniant. quid percipiant. quidue sustineant. Que quia nobis sunt abscondita. magis nobis sunt timenda. quam querenda. Quis enim unquam cum securitate in incerto perrexit itinere: Hoc uero omnibus certum habetur: quod uitam bonam mors mala non sequitur. Et licet usque ad mortem maneat meritum. et post mortem reddatur premium: pena tamen post mortem esse dicitur. que purgatoria nominatur. in qua hii qui in hac uita in quibusdam culpis. iusti tamen et ad uitam eternam predestinati uixerunt. ad tempus [col. 2] cruciabuntur ut purgentur. Unde quem admodum a deo corporales pene dicuntur preparate: ita ipsis penis loca corporalia in quibus sunt dicuntur esse distincta. Creduntur tamen tormenta maxima ad que culpa deorsum premit. immo esse. maxima uero gaudia: adque sursum per iusticiam ascenditur in summo. In medio autem: bona et mala. quod et huic congruere uidetur narrationi. Et quidem infernus subtus terram. uel infra terre concauitatem quasi carcer et ergastulum tenebrarum a quibusdam esse creditur: narratione ista nichilominus asseritur.*

⁶ Rubric.

Et quod paradisus in oriente et in terra sit: narratio ista ostendit. ubi fidelium anime a penis purgatorii liberate dicuntur aliquamdiu morari iocunde. Dicit uero beatus augustinus animas defunctorum post mortem usque ad ultimam resurrectionem abditis receptaculis contineri. sicut unaqueque digna est: uel in requiem uel in erumpnam. Quod et beatus augustinus. et beatus gregorius incorporeos spiritus dicunt pena corporalis ignis posse cruciari: ista uidentur etiam affirmari narratione. In pena uero purgatoria qua post exitum purgantur electi: certum est alios aliis plus minusue pro meritis cruciari. Quod quidem ab hominibus non possunt diffiniri. quia ab eis minime possunt sciri. Ab eis tamen quorum anime a corporibus exeunt. et iterum iubente deo ad corpora redeunt: signa quedam corporalibus similia ad demonstrationem spiritualium nuntiantur. Quia nisi in talibus et per talia ab animabus corporibus exutis uiderentur: [fo. 101b] nullo modo ab eisdem ad corpora reuersis. in corpore uiuentibus. et corporalia tantum scientibus intimarentur. Unde et in hac narratione a corporali et mortali homine spiritalia dicuntur uideri: quasi in specie et forma corporali. Quis uero eam mihi retulerit. et quomodo eam agnouerit: in fine narrationis indicabo. Quam quidem narrationem si bene memini: ita exorsus est.

INCIPIIT DE PURGATORIO SANCTI PATRICII: ¹

I. Dicitur magnus sanctus patricius: qui a primo est secundus. Qui dum in hybernia uerbum dei predicaret. atque miraculis gloriosis choruscaret: studuit bestiales hominum illius patrie animos terrore tormentorum infernalium a malo reuocare. et paradisi gaudiorum promissione in bonum confirmare. Eos uero inquit relator horum bestiales esse ueraciter et ipse comperi. Cum enim essem in patria illa. accessit ad me uir quidam ante pascha. cano quidem capite. et etate decrepita. dicens se corporis et sanguinis christi nunquam percepisse sacramentum. et in illo die proximo pasche. se tanti sacramenti uelle fieri participem. Et quoniam uidebat me et monachum et sacerdotem esse: mihi per confessionem uitam suam manifestare curauit. quatinus ad tantum sacramentum securius posset accedere. Et quoniam illius patrie linguam ignorauit: interpretem michi adhibens: eius confessionem recepi. Qui cum finem confessionis sue faceret. ipsum per interpretem interrogaui. si unquam hominem interfecisset. Qui respondit se pro certo nescire: [col. 2] si plures quam quinque tantum homines interfecisset. Ita dixit: parui pendens et quasi innocens satis esset in eo quod tam paucos occidisset. Multos uero a se uulneratos asseruit. de quibus ignorauit si inde obierint an non. Putabat enim homicidium esse non peccatum dam[n]abile. Cui cum dicerem grauissimum hoc esse peccatum. et in hoc creatorem suum dampnabiliter offendisse. quicquid illi pro peccatorum suorum absolutione preciperem gratanter suscipere et absque ulla retractione uelle se perficere: respondit. Habent enim hoc quasi naturaliter homines illius patrie. ut sicut sunt alterius gentis hominibus per ignorantiam proniores ad malum: ita dum se errasse cognouerint. promptiores et stabiliores sunt ad penitendum. Hec ideo proposui: ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem.

(I)gitur cum beatus patricius ut predixi gentem pefatam et terrore tormentorum. et amore gaudiorum ab errore conuertere uoluisset: dicebant se ad christum nunquam conuersuros. nec pro miraculis que per eum uidebant fieri. nec per eius predicationem. nisi aliquis eorum et tormenta illa malorum et gaudia bonorum posset intueri. quatinus rebus uisis: certiores fierent quam promissis. Beatus uero patricius deo deuotus. etiam tunc. pro salute populi deuotior in uigiliis. ieiuniis et orationibus. atque operibus bonis effectus est. Et quidem dum talibus pro salute populi intenderet bonis: pius dominus ihesus christus ei uisibiliter apparuit. dans ei textum euuangeliorum et baculum unum. que huc usque pro magnis de(?)preciosis reliquiis in hybernia ut dignum est uenerantur. Idem autem baculus pro eo quod illum dominus ihesus dilecto suo patricio contulit: [fo. 102] baculus ihesus cognominatus est. Quicumque uero in patria illa summus fuerit archiepiscopus: hec habebit. id est textum et baculum. quasi pro signo summi presulatus

¹ Rubric.

illius patrie. Sanctum uero patricium dominus in locum desertum eduxit. unam fossam rotundam et intrinsecus obscuram ibidem ei ostendit dicens. Quia quisquis ueraciter penitens uera fide armatus fossam eandem ingressus. unius diei ac noctis spacio moram in ea faceret: ab omnibus purgaretur totius uite sue peccatis. sed et per illam transiens non solum uisurus esset tormenta malorum: uerum etiam si in fide constanter egisset: gaudia beatorum. Sicque ab oculis eius domino disparente. locunditate spiritali repletus est beatus patricius. tam pro domini sui apparitione. quam pro fosse illius ostensione. per quam sperabat populum ab errore conuersurum. Statimque in eodem loco ecclesiam construxit. et beati patris augustini canonicos uitam apostolicam sectantes in ea constituit. Fossam autem predictam que in cimiterio est extra frontem ecclesie orientalem: muro circumdedit. et ianuas serasque apposuit. ne quis eam ausu temerario et sine licentia ingredi presumeret. Clauem uero custodiendam commendauit priori eiusdem ecclesie. Ipsius autem beati patris tempore: multi penitencia ducti fossam ingressi sunt: qui regredientes. et tormenta se maxima perpessos. et gaudia se uidisse testati sunt. Quorum relationes iussit beatus patricius in eadem ecclesia notari. Eorum ergo attestatione ceperunt alii beati patricii predicationem suscipere. Et quoniam ibidem homo a peccatis purgatur. locus ille purgatorium sancti patricii nominatur. Locus autem ecclesie: reglis dicitur [col. 2].

(II) Post obitum autem sancti patricii erat prior quidam in eadem ecclesia. uir quidem sancte conuersationis. ita decrepitus. ut pre senectute non haberet in capite nisi tantummodo dentem unum. Et sicut beatus gregorius dicit. licet senex sit sanus. ipsa tamen senectute sua semper est infirmus: uir iste ne senectutis sue infirmitate uideretur aliis inferre molestiam: iuxta canonicorum dormitorium parari sibi fecit cellulam. Porro iuniores fratres senem uisitantes. sepe ex amore iocando dicere consueuerant. Quam diu pater in hac uita uis morari: Quando uis hinc abire: Et ille. Mallem filii hinc abire. potius quam ita uiuere. Fiat uoluntas dei. Hic enim non sentio nisi miseriam. Alibi uero magnam habeo gloriam. Porro illi canonici in cella senis angelos audiebant a dormitorio suo sepius circa eum cantantes. Cantus autem eorum: hunc habebat modum. Beatus es tu: et beatus est deus [sic] qui est in ore tuo. quem nunquam tetigit cibus delectabilis. Eius enim cibus erat sal: et panis siccus. Potus autem eius aqua frigida. Qui tandem ut optauit: feliciter ad dominum migravit. Hoc autem sciendum quod et tempore sancti patricii. et aliis postea temporibus multi homines purgatorium intrauerunt. quorum alii reuersi sunt: alii in ipso perierunt. Redeuntium autem narrationes a canonicis eiusdem loci scripto mandantur.

(III) Est autem consuetudo tam a sancto patricio quam ab eius successoribus constituta. ut purgatorium illud nullus introeat. nisi qui ab episcopo in cuius est episcopio licentiam habeat. et qui propria uoluntate illud intrare pro peccatis suis eligat. Qui dum ad episcopum uenerit. et ei propositum suum manifestauerit: prius eum hortatur [fo. 102b] episcopus a tali proposito desistere. dicens quia multi illud introierunt. qui nunquam redierunt. Si uero perseuerauerit: perceptis episcopi litteris ad locum festinat. Quas cum prior loci illius legerit: mox eidem homini purgatorium intrare dissuadeat. et ut aliam penitentiam eligat: diligenter ammonet. ostendens ei in eo multorum periculum. Quod si perseuerauerit: introducit eum in ecclesiam. ut in ea .xv. diebus ieiuniis uacet et orationibus. Quibus peractis: conuocat prior uicinum clervm. manequ missa celebrata. munitur penitens sacra communione. et aqua ad idem officium benedicta aspergatur. sicque cum processione et letania ad hostium purgatorii deducitur. Prior autem iterum infestationem demonum. et multorum in eadem fossa perditionem. hostium ei coram omnibus aperiens denuntiat. Si uero constans in proposito fuerit. percepta ab omnibus sacerdotibus benedictione. et omnium se commendans orationibus. propriaque manu fronti sue signum crucis imprimens: ingreditur. Moxque a priore hostium obseratur. sicque processio ad ecclesiam reuertitur. que die altera iterum mane de ecclesia ad

hostium fosse regreditur. hostiumque a priore aperitur. Et si homo reuersus fuerit: cum gaudio in ecclesiam deducitur. in qua aliis xv. diebus uigiliis et orationibus intentus moratur. Quod si die altera eadem hora reuersus non apparuerit: certissimi de eius perditione hostio a priore obserato: uniuersi recedunt.

(IV) Contigit autem his temporibus nostris. diebus scilicet Regis Stephani militem quandam nomine Owein de quo presens est narratio. ad episcopum in cuius episcopatu [col. 2] prefatum est purgatorium. confessionis gratia uenire. Quem cum pro peccatis increparet episcopus. illumque grauiter offendisse diceret: intima contritione cordis ingemuit. seque condignam penitentiam acturum ad episcopi libitum deuouit. Cumque ei episcopus penitentiam secundum peccati modum iniungere uoluisset: respondit. Dum ut asseris factorem meum in tantum offensum habeam: penitentiam omnibus penitentiis grauiorem assumam. Ut enim remissionem peccatorum accipere merear: purgatorium sancti patricii te precipiente ingrediar. Episcopus autem hoc ei presumere dissuasit. sed uirilis animi miles episcopi dissuasioni non consensit. Episcopus uero quamplurimam in eo perditionem ut eum ab hac auerteret intentione narrauit. sed uere penitentis et uere militis animum nullo terrore flectere potuit. Admonuit episcopus ut monachorum uel canonicorum susciperet habitum. Miles uero respondit. hoc se nulla ratione facturum. donec prefatum intrasset purgatorium. Episcopus igitur illius uidens penitudinis constantiam: misit per ipsum epistolam illius loci priori. quatinus eundem penitentem secundum penitentium morem in purgatorium intromitteret. Quo cum peruenisset: cognita ipsius causa ei plurimorum perditionem periculumque proposuit. ut eius animum ab hac intentione reuocaret. Miles uero se grauiter offendisse deum reminiscens. et uere penitens: feruore penitudinis. uicit suasionem prioris. Prior igitur eum in ecclesiam intromisit. in qua secundum morem .xv. diebus ieiuniis et orationibus uacauit. Quibus expletis: a fratribus et a uicino clero sicut supra scriptum est: ad purgatorium ducitur. ubi iterum [fo. 103] enumeratis tormentorum intolerabilium generibus: dissuasum est ei a priore huiusmodi subire penam. Milite uero constanter in proposito permanente: Hoc a priore dictum accepit. Ecce nunc in nomine domini intrabis. tam diu per concauitatem subterraneam iturus: donec ex eas in campum unum. in qua aulam unam inuenies mira arte fabricatam. Quam cum intraueris: statim ex parte dei nuncios habebis. qui tibi quid facturus es uel passurus diligenter exponent. Illis autem exeuntibus. et te solo in ea remanente: statim temptatores accedent. Sic enim habetur euenisse his qui ante te introierunt. tu uero in fide christi constans esto. Miles autem uirilem in pectore gerens animum: quod alios audiuit absorbuisset periculum non formidat. Et qui quondam ferro munitus pugnis interfuit hominum. modo ferro durior. fide. spe. et iusticia de dei misericordia presumens ornatus: confidenter ad pugnam prorumpit demonum. Primo namque se commendans omnium orationibus. et dextera eleuata fronti suo inprimens sancte crucis signaculum: confidenter hilariterque per portam intrauit. Quam prior statim de foris obserauit. et cum processione ad ecclesiam rediit.

(V) Miles itaque nouam et inusitatam exercere cupiens miliciam. pergit audacter licet solus ac diutius confidens in domino per foueam. Ingrauescentibus magis magisque tenebris: lucem amisit in breui tocus claritatis. Tandem ex aduerso lux paruula cepit eunti per foueam tenuiter lucem. Nec mora ad campum predictum [fo. 103, col. 2] peruenit et aulam. Lux autem ibi non apparuit. nisi qualis hic in hieme solet apparere post solis occasum. Aula uero parietem non habebat integrum. sed columpnis et archiolis erat undique constructa: in modum claustrum monachorum. Cumque circa aulam diutius ambulasset: eius mirabilem mirando structuram. ingressus est in eam. infra cuius septa uidit eam multo mirabiliorem. Sedit itaque in aula aliquandiu. oculos huc illucque iactans: eius apparatus et pulcritudinem satis admirans. Cum solus aliquamdiu sedisset. ecce .xv. uiri quasi religiosi et nuper rasi albis uestibus amicti domum intrauerunt. et salutantes illum in nomine domini consederunt. Et tacentibus aliis:

unus cum eo loquebatur. qui quasi prior et eorum dux esse uidebatur dicens. Benedictus sit omnipotens deus qui in corde tuo bonum confirmauit propositum. et ipse in te perficiat bonum quod incepit. Et quoniam ad purgatorium uenisti ut a peccatis tuis purgeris. aut uiriliter agere ex necessitate compelleris. aut pro inertia quod absit: et anima et corpore peribis. Mox enim ut egressi fuerimus: replebitur spirituum immundorum domus ista. qui tibi graua inferent tormenta. et inferre minabuntur grauiora. ad portam qua intrasti te illesum ducturos si eis ut reuertaris assenseris: promittent. conantes si uel hoc modo te decipere possint. Et si quolibet modo uel tormentorum afflictione uictus. uel minis territus. seu promissis deceptus illis assensum prebueris: et corpore et anima pariter ut dixi peribis. Si uero firmiter in fide spem totam in domino [fo. 103b] posueris: ita ut nec tormentis. nec minis. nec promissis eorum cesseris: sed constanter quasi nichilum contempseris. non solum a peccatis omnibus purgaberis. uerum etiam tormenta que preparantur peccatoribus. et requiem in qua iusti letantur uidebis. Deum semper habeas in memoria. et cum te cruciauerint. inuoca dominum ihesum christum. Per inuocationem etenim huius nominis: statim a tormento liberaberis. Tecum enim non possumus hic morari diutius. sed omnipotenti deo te commendamus. Sicque data benedictione uiro: recesserunt ab eo.

(VI) Miles itaque ad noui generis militiam instructus. qui quondam uiriliter oppugnabat homines: iam presto est uiriliter certare contra demones. Armis igitur christi munitus expectat. quis eum demonum ad certamen primo prouocet. Iusticie lorica induitur. spe uictorie salutisque eterne mens ut capud galea redimitur. scuto fidei protegitur. Habet etiam gladium spiritus. quod est uerbum dei: deuote uidelicet inuocans dominum ihesum christum. ut eum regio munimine tueatur. ne ab aduersariis infestantibus superetur. Nec eum domini pietas fefellit que confidentes in se fallere nescit.

Miles igitur ut dictum est cum in domo solus sederet: animo impauido demonum pugnam expectans. subito circa domum cepit audiri tumultus si ac totus comm[u]eretur orbis. Etenim si omnes homines et omnia animantia terre. maris. et aeris. toto conamine pariter tumultuarent: ut ei uidebatur maiorem tumultum non facerent. Unde nisi diuina uirtute protegeretur: et a uiris predictis commodius instrueretur: ipso tumultu amentaretur [fo. 103b, col. 2]. Et ecce post horrorem talis auditus. sequitur horribilior demonum uisibilis aspectus. Uisibiliter etenim undique cepit innumera multitudo demonum formarum deformium in domum irruere. cachinnando ac deridendo illum salutare. et quasi per obprobrium dicere. Alii homines qui nobis seruiunt. non nisi post mortem ad nos ueniunt. unde tibi maiorem mercedem recompensare debemus: quod societatem nostram cui studiosae deseruisti in tantum honorare uoluisti: ut sicut alii diem mortis nolueris expectare. sed uiuendo corpus tuum et animam simul nobis tradere. Ut maiorem a nobis remunerationem acciperes: hoc fecisti. Recipies ergo a nobis habundanter que meruisti. Huc enim uenisti. ut pro peccatis tuis tormenta sustineres. Habebis igitur nobiscum quod queris. pressuras uidelicet et dolores. Uerumtamen pro eo quod hactenus nobis seruiueris. si nostris adquiescendo consiliis reuerti uolueris: hoc tibi pro munere faciemus quod ad portam qua intrasti. illesum te ducemus. quatinus uiuens adhuc in mundo gaudeas. ne totum quod suaue est corpori tuo funditus amittas. Hec ei promiserunt. quia aut terrore aut blanditiis eum decipere uoluerunt. Sed uerus miles christi nec terrore concutitur. nec blandimento seducitur. Eodem enim animo et terrentes contempnebat. et blandientes: nichil penitus respondens.

Demones igitur a milite se contempni cernentes: horribiliter fremebant in eum. struxeruntque in eadem domo maximi incendii rogam ligatisque manibus ac pedibus militem in ignem proiecerunt. unisque ferreis huc illucque per incendium [fo. 104] clamantes traxerunt. Primitus ergo missus in ignem: graue sensit tormentum. Sed ubi dei tam regis sui munimine septus quam a prefatis uiris nuper instructus: armis militie spiritalis nequaquam oblitus est. Cum

enim aduersarii eum in incendio torrerent: pii ihesu nomen inuocauit. Statimque de illo incendio utpote de primo eorum assultu liberatus est. Inuocato enim piissimi saluatoris nomine: dicto citius ita extinctus est tocius incendii rogu: ut nec scintilla inueniretur ipsius. Quod dum miles cerneret audacior effectus est: constanter animo proponens. eos deinceps non formidare. quos ad inuocationem sancti nominis tam facile conspicit se euincere posse.

(VII) Relinquentes igitur demones domum: cum eiulatu et horrido tumultu secum traxerunt militem. Egredientes uero: alii ab aliis discesserunt. Quidam autem eorum militem per uastam regionem diutius traxerunt. Nigra erat terra. et regio tenebrosa. nec quicquam preter demones qui eum traxerunt uidit in ea. Uentus quidem urens ibi flauit. qui uix audiri potuit. sed tamen sui rigiditate corpus suum uidebatur perforare. Traxerunt autem illum uersus fines illos ubi sol oritur in media estate. Cumque illuc euntes uenissent. quasi in fine mundi. ceperunt dextrorsum conuerti. et per uallem latissimam contra austrum tendere. scilicet uersus locum quo sol oritur in media hyeme. Illucque diuertendo: cepit quasi uulgi totius terre miserrimos clamores et eiulatus. et fletus audire. et quo magis appropinquauit: eo clarius clamores eorum et fletus audiuit.

Tandem itaque tractu demonum latissimum [fo. 104, col. 2] longissimumque peruenit miles in campum. miseriis ac dolore plenum. Finis autem illius campi. pre nimia longitudine non potuit a milite uideri. Ille itaque campus hominibus utriusque sexus et etatis in terra iacentibus nudis plenus erat. qui uentre ad terram uerso: clauis ferreis candentibus per manus pedesque defixis. in terra extendebantur. Hij uero aliquando pre dolore uidebantur terram comedere. aliquando autem cum fletu et eiulatu miserabiliter parce. parce uel miserere clamare: sed non erat in loco qui misereri nosset aut parcere. Demones enim inter eos et super eos uidebantur discurrere. qui non cessabant flagris eos dirissimis cedere. Dicunt ei demones. Hec tormenta que uides sentiendo experieris: si nostris non adqueueris consiliis. Hoc est ut a proposito cesses et reuertaris. Quod si uolueris: ad portam per quam uenisti te pacifice ducentes. illesum te abire permittemus. Hoc autem eo renuente: prostrauerunt eum in terram. et sicut clauis eum transfigere conati sunt: sed inuocato ihesu nomine. nichil in eo conamine profecerunt.

(VIII) Igitur ab illo campo recedentes. traxerunt militem ad alium. maiori miseria plenum. Iste itidem campus hominibus utriusque sexus et etatis clauis in terra fixis erat plenus. Inter istos tamen et alterius campi miseros hec erat diuersitas. quod illorum quidem uentres: istorum dorsa terre herebant. Dracones igniti super alios sedebant. et quasi cedentes illos modo miserabili dentibus ignitis lacerabant. Aliorum autem [fo. 104b] colla uel brachia. uel totum corpus serpentes igniti circumgebant. et capita sua pectoribus miserorum imprimentes: ignitum aculeum oris sui in cordibus eorum infigebant. Bufones etiam mire magnitudinis. et quasi ignei uidebantur super quorundam pectora sedere et rostra sua deformia infigentes: quasi eorum corda conarentur extrahere. Qui ita fixi et afflicti: a fletu et eiulatu nunquam cessabant. Demones etiam inter eos. et super eos transcurrentes. flagris eos uehementer cedendo cruciabant. Finis huius campi pre sui longitudine uideri non potuit. nisi in latitudine qua intrauit et exiuit. In transuersum enim campos pertransiuit. Hec inquit demones que uides tormenta patieris: nisi ut reuertaris assenseris. Cumque eos contempsisset conati sunt sicut et superius clauis figere. sed non potuerunt: audito ihesu nomine.

(IX) Transeuntes igitur inde: duxerunt demones militem in tercium campum. miseriis plenum. Iste etenim campus hominibus utriusque sexus et etatis plenus erat. qui ita in terram clauis ferreis candentibusque fixi iacebant: ut pre multitudine clauorum a summitate capitum usque ad digitos pedum. locus uacuum non inueniretur. quantus digiti unius summitate tegeretur. Isti uero uix uocem ad clamandum formare potuerunt. sed sicut homines qui morti proximi

sunt: ita utcumque uocem emiserunt. Nudi et isti sicut ceteri uidebantur. et uento frigido et urente. flagrisque demonum cruciabantur. Hec inquit demones [fo. 104b, col. 2] tormenta patieris: si nobis ut reuertaris non assenseris. Et cum eum contempnentem eorum comminationes figere uoluissent: inuocauit nomen ihesu christi. nec quicquam amplius ibidem ei facere potuerunt.

(X) Hinc ergo militem trahentes: peruenerunt in quartum campum multis ignibus plenum. in quo omnia genera inuenta sunt tormentorum. Alii suspendebantur catenis igneis per pedes. alii per manus. alii per capillos. alii per brachia, alii per tibias capitibus ad ima uersis. et sulphureis flammis immersis. Alii in ignibus pendebant. uncis ferreis in oculis fixis. uel auribus. uel naribus. uel faucibus. uel mamillis. aut genitalibus. Alii fornacibus sulfureis cremabantur. alii quasi super sartagine urebantur. alii ueribus igneis transfixi ad ignem assabantur. quos demonum alii uertunt. alii diuersis metallis liquescentibus. deguttauerunt. quos tamen omnes discurrentes demones flagris ciciderunt. Omnia genera tormentorum que excogitari possunt: ibidem uisa sunt. Ibi etiam uidit quosdam de suis quondam sociis. et eos bene cognouit. Eiulatus et clamores miserorum et fletus quos audiuit: nulla sufficit hominum exprimere lingua. Hii autem campi non solum cruciatis hominibus. sed etiam pleni erant excruciantibus demonibus. Cumque illum ibidem torquere uoluissent: inuocato ihesu christi nomine. mansit illesus.

(XI) Cumque transissent inde: apparuit ante eos rota ignea mire magnitudinis. cuius radii et canti [fo. 105] uncis igneis erant undique circumsepti. in quibus singuli homines infixi pendebant. Huius dum rote medietas sursum in aere stabat. alia medietas in terra deorsum mergebatur. Flamma uero tetr sulphureique incendii de terra circa rotam surgebat. et in ea pendentes miserrime torrebat. Hoc inquit demones quod isti patiuntur patieris. nisi reuerti uolueris. Que tamen tolerant prius uidebis. Demones igitur ex utraque parte alii contra alios uectes ferreos inter rote radios impungentes. eam tanta agilitate rotarunt: ut in ea pendendum omnino nullum ab alio uisu posset discernere. quia pre nimia celeritate cursus sui uidebatur circulus igneus integer esse. Cumque iactassent eum super rotam. et in aerem rotando leuassent: inuocato christi nomine descendit illesus.

(XII) Procedentes igitur inde cum milite demones. traxerunt eum uersum domum unam grandem horribiliter fumigantem. cuius latitudo nimia fuit. Longitudo uero tanta: ut illius non possit ultima uidere. Cum autem adhuc ab ea aliquantum longius essent. pre nimio calore qui inde exhibat substitit. procedere formidans. Dixerunt ergo ei demones Quid tardas: Balnearium est quod uides. Uelis. nolis. illuc usque progredieris. in eo cum ceteris balneabis. Ceperunt autem de domo illa miserrimi fletus et planctus audiri. Introductus autem domum: uidit diram uisionem et horrendam. Etenim domus illius pauimentum fossis rotundis [fo. 105, col. 2] erat plenum. que sibi inuicem ita coherebant. ut uix inter eas aut nullatenus iri potuisset. Erant autem fosse singule metallis diuersis ac liquoribus feruentibus plene. In quibus utriusque sexus et etatis mergebatur hominum multitudo non minima. Quorum alii omnino erant immersi. alii usque ad supercilia. alii ad oculos. alii ad labia. alii ad colla. alii ad pectus. alii ad umbilicum. alii ad femora. alii ad genua. alij ad tibias. alii uno tantum pede tenebantur. alii utraque manu uel una tantummodo. Omnes pariter pre dolore plangentes clamabant et flebant. Ecce inquit demones cum istis balneabis. Subleuantesque militem: conati sunt eum in unam fossarum proicere. Sed audito christi nomine: defecerunt in suo conamine.

(XIII) Recedentes autem a loco illo: perrexerunt contra montem unum. in quo utriusque sexus et diuerse etatis super digitos pedum. curuatam tantam uidit sedere multitudinem nudorum hominum: quod pauci uiderentur ei omnes quos ante uiderat. Hii omnes quasi mortem cum tremore prestolantes: uersus aquilonem intendebant. Cumque miraretur miles quid hec misera multitudo prestolaretur: ait unus demonum ad illum. Forte miraris. quid cum tanto timore populus hic expectat. Nisi nobis consentiens reuerti uolueris: scies quid tam tremebundus expectat. Vix demon uerbum finierat: et ecce ab aquilone uentus turbinis ueniebat. qui et ipsos demones et quem duxerunt militem. totumque [fo. 105b] populum illum arripuit. et

in quoddam flumen fedidum ac frigidissimum flentem et miserabiliter eiulantem longe in aliam montis partem proiecit. in quo inestimabili frigore uexabantur. et cum niterentur de aquis emergere: currentes demones super aquas. eos incessantes immerserunt. At miles adiutoris sui non immemor: nomen ipsius reclamans. in alia ripa se sine mora repperit.

(XIV) Necdum militis christi demones iniuria satiati: accedentes traxerunt eum contra austrum. Et ecce uidit ante se flammam teterrimam. et sulfureo fetore putentem: quasi de puteo quodam ascendere. et quasi homines nudos et igneos utriusque sexus et etatis diuerse sicut scintillas ignis sursum in aere iactari. qui et flammarum ui deficiente: reciderunt iterum in puteo et igne. Quo approximante: dixerunt militi demones. Iste flammiumus puteus. inferni est introitus. Hic est habitatio nostra. Et quoniam nobis hucusque seruisti: hic sine fine nobiscum manebis. Omnes enim qui nobis seruiunt: hic sine fine nobiscum manebunt. Quo si semel intraueris: in eternum et anima et corpore peribis. Si tamen nobis consenseris: illesus ad propria remeare poteris. Illo uero de dei auxilio presumente. illorumque promissa spernente: precipitauerunt se demones in puteum. trahentes secum militem. Et quo profundius descendit. eo latiore puteum inuenit. sed et grauiorem penam pertulit. Adeo namque fuit intolerabilis: ut pene sui saluatoris sit oblitus nominis. Deo tamen inspirante [fo. 105b, col. 2] rediens ad se: ut potuit nomen ihesu christi clamauit. Statimque uis flamme cum reliquis sursum eum in aerem proiecit. Descendensque iuxta puteum: solus aliquandiu stetit. Cumque se ab ore putei subtrahens stetisset: ignorans quo se uerteret. egressi sunt alii demones de puteo. ab eo ut ita dixerim ignoti. Qui dixerunt ei. Quid ibi stas? Quod hic esset infernus: tibi dixerunt socii nostri. Mentiti sunt. Consuetudinis nostre semper est mentiri. ut quos non possumus per uerum: fallamus per mendacium. Non est hic infernus. sed nunc ad infernum ducemus te.

(XV) Inde igitur trahentes militem eum magno tumultu et horribili. peruenerunt ad flumen quoddam latissimum et fetidum. totum quasi sulfurei incendii flamma coopertum. demonumque multitudine plenum. Dixerunt ergo ei. Sub isto flammante flumine: noueris infernum esse. Ultra flumen illud quod uidebatur. pons unus protendebatur. Dixeruntque demones ad militem. Oponet te per hunc pontem transire. nos autem uentos et turbines commouentes. de ponte proiciemus te in flumen. Socii uero nostri qui in eo sunt: te captum in infernum demergent. Volumus tamen te prius probare. quam tutum tibi sit per illum transire. Tenentes igitur manum eius. fricabant super pontem. Erant autem in eodem ponte tria. transeuntibus ualde formidanda. Primum uidelicet. quia ita lubricus erat. ut etiam si latissimus esset. aut uix aut nullatenus quis in eo pedem figere posset. Secundum quod ita strictus et gracilis erat: [f. 106] ut uix aut nullo modo in eo aliquis stare uel ambulare posse uidebatur. Tercium: quod adeo alte protendebatur in aere. ut etiam horribile uideretur ad ipsius altitudinem oculos erigere. Si tamen inquit adhuc nobis assenseris ut reuertaris: etiam ab hoc discrimine securus ad patriam remeare poteris. Cogitans autem intra se fidelis christi miles de quantis eum periculis liberauerit aduocatus eius piissimus: ipsius inuocato nomine. cepit super pontem pedetemptim incedere. Nichil igitur lubrici sub pedibus sentiens. firmiter incedebat in domino confidens. Et quo altius ascendit: eo spatiosiore pontem inuenit. Et ecce post paululum tantum creuit pontis latitudo: ut etiam duo carra exciperet sibi obuiantia.

Porro demones qui militem illuc usque perduxerant. ulterius progredi non ualentes: ad pedem pontis steterunt. quasi lapsum militis prestolantes. Uidentes autem eum libere transire: ita clamoribus aerem concusserunt. ut intol[er]abilior ei uideretur huius horror clamoris: quam preteritarum aliqua penarum quam sustinuerat ab ipsis. Cernens tamen eos subsistere. nec ultra progredi ualere: piique ductoris sui reminiscens. securius incedebat. Demones autem supra flumen discurrentes uncas suas ad eum iaciebant. sed illesus ab eis: preteriiit. Securus tandem procedens: uidit latitudinem pontis in tantum ex crescere. ut uix ex utraque parte posset aquam inspicere.

[HOMILY 1.] *Comparantur ergo karissimi passiones huius uite predictorum locorum tormentis et miserie. Quod si igitur inuicem opponantur [fo. 106, col. 2] in mentis statera: quasi incomparabilis arene multitudo maris, leuissime comparata pluuiæ, grauior apparebit eorundem locorum inestimabilis miseria. Carneis ut credo motibus sane mentis nemo delectabitur, quam diu puro mentis intuitu talia contemplabitur. Et quibus grauis et aspera uidetur in monasterio sui ipsius pro christo temporalis abnegatio: reminiscatur oro quam amara sit illorum tormentorum diuturna excruciatio. Incompa[ra]biliter enim leuior est uita claustralis, et districtissime regule rigor discipline cenobialis, ut tam corporum quam animarum necessaria sine sollicitudine queruntur, quam supradicta penarum loca: in quibus miseri pro peccatis in hac uita non emendatis, non tantum maximis sed etiam minimis negligenter multiplicatis: diuturna miseria cruciari creduntur. Sunt autem peccata que minima uel parua siue leuia dicuntur, non quia parua uel leuia sint: sed quoniam in hac uita uere penitentibus leuiter a deo dimittuntur. Quod si quis emendanda in futurum distulerit contempnendo: non leuia sed grauia immo grauissima in penis ea sentiet experiendo. Nemo se de peccatorum leuium leuitate quia ita appellantur blandiendo seducat. Quanto etenim fuerint leuiora: tanto fit culpe grauioris eorum in interni iudicis examine corrigendi negligentia. Nullum igitur omnino peccatum paruum estimare debemus. Anselmus. Utinam districtus iudex parui existimaret aliquod peccatum. Nonne omne peccatum per preuaricationem deum exhonorat: Quod ergo peccatum audet [fo. 106b] quis dicere paruum? Deum enim exhonorare, quis sane mentis dicturus est paruum? Quid respondebimus cum exigitur a nobis usque ad ictum oculi totius uite presentis cursus? Tunc quippe condemnabitur quicquid in nobis inuentum fuerit operis ociosi uel sermonis, uel etiam silentii inemendatum usque ad minimam cogitationem. Quis uel mente captus audeat affirmare peccata fore leuia, quibus amara debetur gehenna? Ue quot peccata prouent ibi ex inproviso quasi ex insidiis, que modo paruipendimus. Certe plura et forsitan terribiliora his: que grauia iudicamus. Quot, que non esse mala putamus, quot etiam que nunc sub specie religionis uelata bona ualde existimamus: ibi nudata facie apparebunt teterrima. Ibi procul dubio recipiemus prout in corpore gessimus, siue bonum siue malum, tunc cum iam non erit tempus misericordie, tunc cum penitentia non recipietur, cum emendatio non promittetur. Hec autem karissimi non mea, sed sanctorum patrum sunt uerba. Hic hic cogitemus que gessimus, et que in futuro pro his accepturi sumus. Si multa bona, pauca mala: multum gaudeamus. Si multa mala, pauca bona: multum lugeamus. O peccator inutilis, nonne hec tibi sufficiunt ad immanem rugitum, ad eliciendum sanguinem et medullas in lacrimas. Ve mirabilis duritia, ad quam confringendam leues sunt tam graues mallei. Augeamus ergo miseri, augeamus superioribus erumpnis pondus, addamus terrorem super terrorem, ululatum super ululatum. Nam ipse nos [fo. 106b, col. 2] iudicabit, ad cuius contumeliam spectat: quicquid ordinis et uoti preuaricator inobediens deo et dei personam inter nos gerentibus peccauerit. Meminerimus dilectissimi uoti quod sponte deo uouimus, et ipsius uicariis. Exigitur enim a nobis usque ad nouissimum quadrantem, aut hic cum benignitate et misericordia: aut in futuro quod absit cum seueritate et iusticia. Ille quidem iudicabit, qui cum esset deo patri coequalis: pro nobis factus obediens usque ad mortem, ut nos a superbia ad humilitatem, ab inobedientia ad obedientiam inclinaret, sed potius subleuaret. Ergo ad humilitatem domini: confundatur elatio serui. Augustinus. Intueamur karissimi domini humilitatem. Intueamur inquam dulcem natum dei, toto corpore in crucis patibulo pro nobis extensum. Cernamus manus innoxias, pio manantes sanguine. Consideremus inerme latus: crudeli perfossum cuspide. Uedeamus immaculata uestigia, que non steterunt in uia peccatorum, sed semper ambulauerunt in lege domini, diris terebrata clauis rubente sanguinis unda. O mirabilis censure conditio. O inestimabilis misterii dispositio. Nos inique agimus: et ipse pena multatur. Nos facinus admittimus: et ipse plectitur ultione. Nos crimen committimus:*

ipse torture subicitur. Nos superbimus: ipse humiliatur. Nos tumemus: ipse attenuatur. Nos prelati nostris inobedientes sumus: ipse patri suo obediens. scelus luit inobedientie nostre. Nos obedientes [fo. 107] gule diuersa fercula querimus. et ipse inedia pro nobis afficitur. Nos ad illicitam arborem rapit concupiscentia: ipsum perfecta caritas pro nobis ducit ad crucis supplicia. Nos presumimus uetitum: et ipse subit eculeum. Nos iocando delectamur cibo. et ipse condolendo nobis laborat in patibulo. Nobis nam lasciuiens conridet eua: ipsi uero plorans compatitur maria. Dic age dic cenobita. qui dum corripere. dum ad emendandum ad ueniam petendam citaris: recusas. recalcitras. reclamans inflaris. prorumperis in uerba malitie. ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis. Dic queso quid superbis. cum sis puluis et cinis: O ceca elatio. O insensibilis tumor. ad quem compungendum sunt obtunsi tam acuti aculei. Compungamur ergo karissimi et humiliemur coram ipso qui pro nobis humilis et obediens factus est: non tantum deo patri. sed etiam hominibus. Scriptum quippe est. Et erat subditus illis. Dulce quod mandatum dedit nobis. ut diligamus inuicem. Et nouimus quis ait. Increpasti superbos. maledicti qui declinant. a. mandatis tuis. Preceptum quoque dedit nobis desiderabile dicens. Petite et accipietis. Quid precipit ut petamus: Aurum. argentum. preciosam mundi substantiam: Absit. Non enim expedit ut ea petamus: que se petentes interimunt. Quid ergo: Ueniam. Non igitur erubescamus nos ab eo ueniam petere pro propriis delictis. qui pro ipsis innocens tot et tantis affectus est obprobriis. [fo. 107, col. 2] Quicumque igitur animo ueniam postulauerit: presto est ut tribuat. Et qui non ex animo petit: uel omnino non petit. certe non accipit. Ipse enim nouit abscondita cordis. Ue tumidis in presenti ueniam petere contempnentibus. De his procul dubio scriptum est. Peccator cum in profundum uenerit: contempnet. Hii quoque in laboribus hominum non sunt: et cum hominibus non flagellabuntur. Sed quia hic eos tenuit superbia: sepelientur in puteo in iniquitate et impietate sua. Attendat karitas uestra. Dictum quippe est militi. Uniuersi qui pro peccatis purgandis extra os putei in quibuscumque locis cruciantur: hii sunt qui in presenti uita penitentiam egerunt. et nondum peracta sibi iniuncta penitentia ab hac uita discedentes: pro culparum qualitate in tormentis detinentur. Statim ergo post commissam ducti uera penitentia ueniam postulant. statim aut hic aut in futuro liberantur. Qui si corde duro et impenitenti usque ad extrema uite presentis penitere distulerint: ei si uere penitere uideantur. timendum ualde est: ne etiam eorum tormenta usque ad huius seculi finem perdurent. Hii tamen omnes per beneficia que pro ipsis in presenti fiunt: a predictis suppliciis cotidie liberantur. Transeamus igitur karissimi sepius mente per hec loca tormentorum. Patres nostros. et matres. fratres. et sorores. ceterosque cognatos. amicosque quondam nobis karissimos. qui forsitan ibi torquentur uisitantes. crebris uigiliis et orationibus insistendo. missarum solempnia cum concentu psalmorum celebrando. elemosinas largiendo. scientes quia quicquid pro ipsis laboris subierimus: nobis ipsis impendimus. Et si eos in corpore cruciari cerneremus. et cum possemus a tormentis eos eruere negligeremus: nonne infideles filii cognati et amici iudicaremur: Multo quidem infideliores sunt: qui dum possunt. missis. psalmis. precibus. elemosinis. de predictis tormentis suos quondam karissimos eruere non satagunt. Testatur enim sanctus Gregorius penas eorum qui salvandi sunt istis mitigari. et adnichilari remediis. Nobis ergo summopere cauendum est: ne dum hec in ecclesia pro eorum liberatione fiunt. rebus ociosis potius quam orationi uacemus. Hec autem ad eorum correptionem dico. qui pro causis minimis inter missarum solempnia chorum psallentium sine necessitate sepiissime deserunt. quos nullius obediencie sollicitudo. sed sola mentis extrahit et expellit euagatio. Terreant karissimi nos tormenta supradicta. sed multo magis dies illa omnium extrema. Quid torpemus peccatores: Dies iudicii uenit. Juxta est dies domini magnus. iuxta et uelox nimis. Dies ire dies illa. dies tribulationis et angustie. dies calamitatis et miserie. dies tenebrarum et caliginis. dies nebulæ et turbinis. dies tube et clangoris. O uox diei domini amara. Quid dormimus tepidi: Quid

dormimus! Qui non expergiscitur. qui non contremittit ad tam terrificum tonitruum. non dormit. sed mortuus est. Ibi ibi apparebit iudex uiuorum et mortuorum christus ihesus nunc patientissimus. tunc districtissimus. clementissimus nunc! iustissimus tunc. Ue ibi! ueniam [fo. 107b, col. 2] petere contempnentibus hic. O angustie. Hinc erunt accusantia peccata. inde terrens iusticia. Subtus patens horridum chaos inferni! desuper iratus iudex. Intus urens consciencia! foris ardens mundus. Si iustus uix saluabitur. peccator sic apprehensus in quam partem se premet! Constrictus ubi latebit. quomodo parebit! Latere erit impossibile. apparere intolerabile. Illud desiderabit et nusquam erit. istud execrabitur et ubique erit. Quid! Quid tunc! Quid erit tunc! Quis eruet de manibus dei! Unde consilium! Unde salus! O. Quis est qui dicitur magni consilii angelus! Quis est qui dicitur saluator. ut ante quam ueniat dies illa nomen eius uociferemur! Jam ipse est! iam ipse est ihesus. Ipse idem est iudex. inter cuius manus tremimus. Respira iam o peccator. respira ne desperes. Ipse pius ihesus. ipse est! cuius nominis non immemor miles noster a tot et tantis tormentis misericorditer eripitur. cuius audito nomine! fortitudo de monum enervatur. penarum asperitas hebetatur. ab ipsius infernalis putei gurgite miles mirabiliter liberatur. Prosequamur ergo karissimi militem nostrum. a quo necessario tam longe digressi sumus. qui eodem pio ihesu duce iam pertransiuit per ignes et aquas. et uideamus si forte eduxerit eum adhuc in refrigerium. ut cuius miseriis et calamitatibus compatiebamur! illius etiam solatii participes efficiamur. et quorum corda ad compassionem pietatis forte non flexerunt tristia tormentorum. deuotione saltem et affectu flectant succedentia gaudiorum [fo. 108].

(XVI) Procedens igitur miles iam liber ab omni demonum uexacione! uidit ante se murum quendam magnum et altum in aere erectum. Erat autem murus ille mirabilis. et incomparandi decoris structure. In quo muro portam unam clausam uidebat. que metallis diuersis lapidibusque preciosis ornata. mirabili fulgore radiabat. Cui cum appropinquasset. sed adhuc quasi spatio dimidii miliarij abesset! porta illa contra eum aperta est! et tante suauitatis odor ei occurrens per eam exiit! ut sicut uidebatur. si totus mundus in aromata uerteretur! non uinceret huius magnitudinem suauitatis. Tantasque uires ex ea percepit suauitate! ut existimaret se tormenta que pertulerat iam posse sine molestia sustinere. Respiciensque intra portam. patriam solis sp[er]endorem claritate nimia uincente lustratam! uidit. et nimirum introire cupiuit. Beatus homo cui talis aperitur ianua. Nec fefellit militem! qui illum eo uenire permisit. Cum enim adhuc aliquantulum longius esset! egressa est in occursum eius cum crucibus et uexillis. et cereis. et quasi palmarum aurearum ramis processio talis ac tanta. quanta in hoc mundo prout estimauit nunquam uisa est. Ibi uidit homines unius cuiusque ordinis ac religionis. diuerse etatis et utriusque sexus. Alios quasi archiepiscopos. alios ut episcopos. alios ut abbates. canonicos. monachos. presbiteros. et singulorum graduum sancte ecclesie ministros! Sacris uestibus ordini suo congruentibus indutos. Omnes uero tam clerici quam laici eadem forma uestium uidebantur [fo. 108, col. 2] induti! in qua deo seruierunt in seculo. Militem uero cum magna ueneratione et leticia susceperunt. eumque cum concentu sedulo^a inaudite armonie secum perducentes! per portam introierunt. Finito uero concentu. et soluta processione! secedentes duo seorsum quasi archiepiscopi. militem in suo comitatu susceperunt. secumque duxerunt. quasi patriam et eius amenitatis gloriam ei ostensuri. Qui cum eo loquentes! primo benedixerunt deum. qui eius animum in tormentis tanta corroborauit constantia. Ipsis igitur illum per amena patrie ducentibus! huc illucque transiens. multo plura quam ipse uel aliquis hominum peritissimus lingua uel calamo possit explicare delectabilia iocundaque prospexit. Tanta uero lucis erat illa patria claritate lustrata! ut sicut lumen lucerne solis obcecur splendor. ita solis claritas meridiana posse uideretur obtenebrari lucis illius patrie mirabili fulgore. Finem uero patrie pre nimia ipsius magnitudine scire non

^a Inserted in the margin at end of the line, by a different hand; a word at the beginning of the next line has been erased. Other MSS. (among them ClgK) read *saeculo*.

potuit, nisi tantum ex ea parte qua per portam intrauit. Erat autem tota patria quasi prata amena atque uirentia diuersis floribus fructibusque herbarum multiformium et arborum decorata: quorum ut ait odore tantum sine fine uixisset, si ibidem sibi permanere licuisset. Nox illam nunquam obscurat, quia splendor eam purissimi celi perhenni claritate perlustrat. Tantamque uidit in ea sexus utriusque multitudinem hominum: quantam in hac uita neminem estimabat unquam uidisse mortalium. Quorum alij in his alij in aliis locis per conuentus distincti commanebant: [fo. 108b] et tamen prout uoluerint alij de istis in illas, alij de illis in istas cateruas cum letitia transibant. Sicque fiebat ut et alij de aliorum uisione gauderent, et alij de aliorum uisitatione feliciter exultarent. Chori per loca choris assistebant, dulcisque armonie concentu deo laudes resonabant, et sicut stella differt a stella in claritate: ita erat quedam differentia concors in eorum uestium et uultuum claritatis uenustate. Alii enim induti uestitu uidebantur aureo, alij argenteo, atque alij uiridi, purpureo, iacinctino, ceruleo, candido. Forma tamen habitus: qua singuli utebantur in seculo. Forma etenim uestis: indicabat militi cuius quilibet in seculo meriti fuerit uel ordinis. Quorum habitus uariis color: uarie uidebatur claritatis splendor. Alii quasi reges coronati incedebant, alij palmas aureas in manibus gestabant. Talium igitur et tantorum fuit in illa requie iustorum militi delectabilis conspectus: nec minor eorundem armonie suauis et ineffabiliter dulcis auditus. Undique sanctorum audiuit concentum, deo laudes personantium. Singuli uero de propria felicitate gaudebant, sed et de singulorum gaudio: singuli exultabant. Tantaque patria illa odoris suauitatis repleta erat fragrantia; ut uiuere uiderentur habitantes in ea. Omnes uero qui militem intuebantur: deum benedicentes de eius aduentu quasi de fraterna ereptione a morte gratulabantur. Uidebatur ibi quodam modo de ipsius aduentu quasi noua exultatio fieri. Omnes [f. 108b, col. 2] exultabant: undique sanctorum melodia resonabat. Nec estum nec frigus ibi sentiebat nec quod ullo modo posset offendere uel nocere quicquam uidebat. Omnia ibi placata, omnia placita, omnia grata. Multo plura uidit in illa requie: quam aliquis hominum unquam loqui sufficeret aut scribere. His igitur ita completis: dixerunt pontifices ad militem. Ecce frater auxiliante deo uidisti: quod uidere desiderasti. Uidisti enim huc ueniendo tormenta peccatorum, hic autem uidisti requiem iustorum. Benedictus sit creator et redemptor omnium qui tibi tale dedit propositum, cuius gratia per tormenta transiens constanter egisti. Nunc autem karissime nosse te uolumus que sunt illa que uidisti tormentorum loca: sed et que sit ista tante beatitudinis patria.

(XVII) Patria igitur ista terrestris est paradysus, de qua propter inobedientie culpam eiectus est adam prothoplastus. Postquam enim inobediens deo subici contempsit: ultra uidere que uides, immo incomparabiliter maiora gaudia non potuit. Hic enim ipsius dei uerba sedulo audierat, cordis mundicia et celsitudine uisionis interne. Hic beatorum angelorum uisione perfrui poterat. Cum autem per inobedientiam a tanta beatitudine cecidisset: etiam lumen rationis quo lustrabatur amisit. Et quia cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis. Huius autem uniuersa posteritas, ob ipsius inobedientie culpam: sicut et ipse mortis suscepit sententiam. O detestabile scelus inobedientie. Motus tandem pietate piissimus deus noster super humani generis miseriam: filium suum unigenitum [f. 109] incarnari constituit dominum nostrum ihesum christum, cuius fidem suscipientes: per baptismum tam ab actualibus quam ab originali peccato liberi, ad istam patriam redire meruimus. Uerum quod fidei susceptionem per fragilitatem creberrime peccauimus: necesse erat ut per penitentiam ueniam actualium impetraremus. Penitentiam enim quam ante mortem uel in extremis positi suscepimus nec eam in uita peregimus: post carnis solutionem in locis que uidisti penalibus, alij maiori, alij minoris temporis spatio secundum modum culparum: tormenta luendo persoluimus. Omnes autem ad hanc requiem per illa loca transiuimus. O transitus inestimabiliter horribilis. Similiter et omnes quos in singulis locis penalibus uidisti, preter eos qui infra os putei infernalis detinentur, postquam purgati

fuerint. tandem ad istam requiem uenientes saluabuntur. *Sed et cotidie quidam purgati ueniunt. quos suscipientes sicut et te suscepimus: cum gaudio huc introducimus. Eorum uero qui in penis sunt: nullus nouit quam diu torquebitur. Per missas autem et psalmos et orationes. et elemosinas. quotiens pro eis fiunt: aut eorum tormenta mitigantur. aut in minora et tolerabiliora transferuntur. donec omnino per talia beneficia liberentur. Ad hunc autem locum quietis cum uenerint: quam diu hic mansuri fuerint nesciunt. Nullus enim nostrum hoc scire potest de se: quam diu hic debeat esse. Sicut enim in locis penalibus secundum culparum quantitatem morandi percipiunt [f. 109, col. 2] spacium: ita et qui hic sumus secundum merita bona plus minusue morabitur in ista requie. Et licet a penis omnino liberi simus: ad supernam sanctorum leticiam nondum ascendere digni sumus. Diem tamen et terminum nostre promotionis in melius: nemo nostrum nouit. Ecce hic ut uides in magna requie sumus. Sed post terminum singulis constitutum: in maiorem transibimus. Cotidie enim societas nostra quodam modo crescit et decrescit. dum singulis diebus et a penis ad nos: et a nobis in celestem paradisum ascendunt.*

(XVIII) His dictis: assumentes militem secum in montem unum. iusserunt ut sursum aspiciens: diceret cuiusmodi coloris ei supra se celum uideretur. Quibus ille respondit. *Auro mihi simile uidetur ardenti in fornace. Hec inquiunt est porta celestis paradisi. Hac introeunt: qui a nobis sumuntur in celum. nec te latere debet: quod cotidie pascit nos dominus semel cibo celesti. Qualis autem fuerit cibus ille quamque delectabilis: iam deo donante nobiscum gustando senties. Uixque sermone finito: quasi flamma ignis de celo descendit. que totam patriam cooperuit. et quasi per radios diuisi super singulorum capita descendens: tandem in eos tota intrauit. Sed et super militem inter alios descendit et intrauit. Unde tantam dilectionis dulcedinem in corde et corpore sensit: ut pene pre nimietate dulcedinis non intellexerit utrum uiuus an mortuus fuisset. Sed et illa hora cito transiit. Hic inquiunt est cibus ille unde semel ut diximus a deo cotidie pascimur. Qui uero in celum a nobis assumuntur: hoc cibo [f. 109b] sine fine perfruuntur.*

(XIX) *Sed quoniam ex parte uidisti que uidere desiderasti. requiem uidelicet beatorum et tormenta peccatorum: oportet nunc frater redeas per eandem uiam qua uenisti. Et si amodo sobrie ac sancte uixeris: non solum de ista requie. sed et de celorum mansionibus securus esse poteris. Si uero quod absit iterum illecebris carnis uitam tuam pollueris: en ipse uidisti quid tibi maneat in penis. Securus ergo redeas. nam quicquid huc tibi uenienti terroris erat: tibi redeunti etiam apparere pertimescet. Ad hec uerba pauescens miles: magno merore pontificibus supplicare cepit. ne a tanta leticia ad erumpnas huius seculi redire cogeretur. Non inquiunt ut postulas erit. sed sicut ipse disposuit: qui quod omnibus expediat solus agnouit. Merens igitur miserabiliter. uolens nolens egreditur. acceptaque benedictione: tristis admodum sed tamen intrepidus eadem qua uenerat reuertitur uia. et clausa est ianua.*

[HOMILY II.] *Eya nunc dilectissimi redeunte milite nostro recordetur unusquisque qualia et quanta sunt omnia. siue beatorum gaudia. siue peccatorum tormenta. que adhuc in carne positus: intuitus et expertus est. Mira certe uidentur: immo mira sunt et inestimabilia. Uerum si comparata fuerint ad illa que nec oculus uidit. nec auris audiuit. nec cor hominis cogitare potuit que preparauit deus diligentibus siue contempnentibus se. fere nulla uel minima parebunt. De tormentis autem impiorum ad presens sufficiant: que superius dicta sunt. Excitemus igitur [fo. 109b, col. 2] et erigamus karissimi totum intellectum nostrum in quantum deus donauerit et cogitemus quale et quantum sit illud electorum unicum et singulare gaudium. illud scilicet unum et summum bonum. omnino sibi sufficiens. nullo indigens quo omnia indigent ut sint: et ut bene sint. Hoc bonum est deus pater. hoc est uerbum. id est filius patris. hoc ipsum est amor unus et communis patri et filio. id est spiritus sanctus ab utroque procedens. Quod autem horum est singulus quisque: hec est tota trinitas simul pater. et filius. et spiritus sanctus.*

quoniam singulus quisque non est aliud quam summe simplex unitas et summe una simplicitas. que nec multiplicari. nec aliud et aliud esse potest. Porro hoc est illud idem unum. quod est necessarium. Porro hoc est illud unum necessarium in quo est omne. et unum et totum. et solum bonum. Si enim singula bona delectabilia sunt: cogitate intente quam delectabile sit illud bonum quod continet iocunditatem omnium bonorum. et non quale in rebus creatis sumus experti. sed tanto differentem: quanto differt creator a creatura. Si enim bona est uita creata: quam bona est uita creatrix: Si iocunda est salus facta. quam iocunda est salus que facit omnem salutem: Si amabilis est sapientia in cognitione rerum conditarum. quam amabilis est sapientia que omnia condidit ex nichilo: Denique si multe et magne delectationes sunt in rebus delectabilibus. qualis et quanta est delectatio in illo qui fecit illa delectabilia: O qui hoc bono fruatur. quid illi erit. et quid illi non erit: Certe quicquid uolet erit. et quod nolet non erit. Ibi quippe erunt bona corporis et anime. qualia nec oculus uidit. nec auris [fo. 110] audiuit. nec cor hominis cogitauit. Cur ergo per multa uagamur querendo bona anime nostre et corporis nostri: Amemus unum bonum in quo sunt omnia bona. et sufficit. Desideremus simplex bonum. quod est omne bonum: et satis est. Quid enim amas caro. quid desideras anima: Ibi est. ibi est: quicquid amatis. quicquid desideratis. Si delectat pulcritudo: fulgebunt iusti sicut sol. Si uelocitas aut fortitudo aut libertas corporis. cui nichil obsistere possit: erunt similes angelis dei. quia seminatur corpus animale: et surget corpus spirituale. potestate utique non natura. Si longa et salubris uita: ibi est sana eternitas. et eterna sanitas. quia iusti in perpetuum uiuent. et salus iustorum a domino. Si sacietas: saturabuntur cum apparuerit gloria dei. Si ebrietas: inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus dei. Si melodia: ibi chori angelorum concinunt sine fine deo. Si quelibet non immunda sed munda uoluptas: torrente uoluptatis sue potabit eos deus. Si sapientia: ipsa dei sapientia ostendet eis se ipsam. Si amicitia: diligenter deum plus quam se ipsos. et inuicem tanquam se ipsos. et deus illos plus quam illi se ipsos. quia illi illum. et se. et inuicem per illum. et ille se et illos: per se ipsum. Si concordia: omnibus illis erit una uoluntas. quia nulla eis erit nisi dei sola uoluntas. Si potestas: omnipotentes erunt sue uoluntatis. ut deus sue. Nam sicut poterit quod uolet per se ipsum: ita poterunt illi quod uolent per illum. quia sicut illi non aliud uolent quam quod ille: ita et ille uolet quicquid illi uolent. et quod ille uolet: [fo. 110, col. 2] non poterit non esse. Si honor et diuitie: deus suos seruos bonos et fideles supra multa constituet. immo filii dei. et dii uocabuntur. et erunt. et ubi erit unicus eius ibi erunt et illi. Heredes quidem dei coheredes autem christi. Si uera securitas: certe ita certi erunt numquam et nullatenus ista uel potius istud bonum sibi defuturum: sicut certe erunt se non sua sponte illud amissuros. nec dilectorem deum illud dilectoribus suis inuitis ablaturum. nec aliquid deo potentius inuitos deum et illos separaturum. Gaudium uero quale et quantum est: ubi tale ac tantum bonum: Cor humanum. cor indigens. cor expertum erumpnas. immo obrutum erumpnis. quantum gauderes. si his omnibus habundares: Interroga intima tua si capere possunt gaudium suum: de tanta beatitudine sua. Sed certe si quis alius quem omnino sicut te ipsum diligeres eandem beatitudinem haberet: duplicaretur gaudium tuum. quia non minus gauderes pro eo. quam pro te ipso. Si uero duo uel tres uel multo plures id ipsum haberent: tantundem pro singulis quantum pro te ipso gauderes. si singulos sicut te ipsum amares. Ergo in illa perfecta karitate innumerabilium angelorum et hominum. ubi nullus minus diligit alium quam se ipsum. non aliter gaudebit quisque pro singulis aliis quam pro se ipso. Si ergo cor hominis de tanto suo bono uix capiet gaudium suum. quomodo capax erit tot et tantorum gaudiorum: Et utique quoniam quantum quisque diligit aliquem. tantum de bono eius gaudet. sicut in illa perfecta felicitate unus quisque [fo. 110b] plus amabit sine comparatione deum plus quam se et omnes alios secum. ita plus gaudebit absque estimatione de felicitate dei: quam de sua et omnium aliorum secum. Sed si deum sic diligenter toto corde. tota anima. ut tamen totum cor. tota mens. tota anima. non sufficiat

dignitati delectionis: profecto sic gaudebunt. toto corde. tota mente. tota anima: ut totum cor. tota mens. tota anima. non sufficiat plenitudini gaudii. Et hoc fortasse est gaudium: de quo dicit uobis pater per filium suum. *Petite et accipietis: ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum.* Ecce karissimi inuenimus gaudium quoddam plenum. et plusquam plenum. Pleno quippe corde. plena mente. plena anima. pleno toto homine gaudio illo: adhuc supra modum supererit gaudium. O si forte hoc gaudium est in quod intrabunt serui boni. qui intrabunt in gaudium domini sui: Sed gaudium illud certe quo gaudebunt electi dei. nec oculus uidit nec auris audiuit. nec in cor hominis ascendit. Nondum ergo dixi aut cogitavi. quantum gaudium illi beati serui domini. Vtique enim gaudebunt. quantum amabunt. tantum amabunt: quantum cognoscent. Quantum tunc agnoscent deum. et quantum amabunt eum: Certe nec oculus uidit. nec auris audiuit. nec in cor hominis ascendit in hac uita: quantum cognoscent illum in illa uita. Ergo miles noster licet mira et merito desideranda gaudia uiderit: non dum illud summum bonum et singulare beatorum gaudium uidit. Orandum ergo nobis est summo opere karissimi. ut de deo gaudeamus. Et si non possumus in hac uita ad plenum: [fo. 110b, col. 2] uel proficiamus in dies. usque dum ueniat illud ad plenum. Proficiat hic in nobis notitia dei: et ibi fiat plena Crescat hic amor ipsius: et ibi sit plenus. ut hic gaudium nostrum sit in spe magnum: et ibi sit in re plenum. Deus enim per filium suum iubet immo consulit petere. et promittit accipere. ut gaudium nostrum plenum sit. Petamus igitur quod consulit. per admirabilem consiliarium nostrum. Accipiamus quod promittit per ueritatem suam. ut gaudium nostrum plenum sit. Meditetur interim mens nostra. loquatur inde lingua nostra. Amet illud cor nostrum. sermocinetur os nostrum. Esuriant illud anima nostra. desideret tota substantia nostra. donec intremus in gaudium domini dei nostri. Amen.

Occurramus modo fratres karissimi militi nostro redeunti. et uideamus si forte sine impedimento redierit.

(XX) Egressus itaque sicut supra diximus miles de paradiso lugens. eo quod a tanta felicitate ad huius uite miseriam redire cogeretur: per eandem uiam qua uenerat reuersus est. Quem redeuntem quidem demones undique discurrantes terrere conati sunt: sed ad eius aspectum ut auicule territi. per aera diffugerunt. Sed nec eum tormenta quicquam ledere potuerunt. Cumque uenisset ad predictam aulam in qua demones eum primitus inuaserunt: ecce uiri illi. xv. qui ibidem ei primo apparentes eum instruxerant. subito apparuerunt. Qui deum laudantes. eiusque uictorie congratulantes: dixerunt. Eya frater nunc scimus. quoniam per tormenta que sustinens [fo. 111] uiriliter uicisti: ab omnibus peccatis tuis purgatus es. Et ecce iam patria tua: lucis aurora clarescit. Ascende igitur quamtotius. Nam si prior ecclesie post missarum solempnia cum processione sua ueniens ad portam. te redeuntem non inuenerit: statim de reditu tuo diffidens obserata porta redibit. Accepta itaque ab eis benedictione protinus ascendit. Eadem uero hora qua prior portam aperuit: miles de intro ueniens apparuit. Quem cum gaudio magno prior suscipiens: in ecclesiam introduxit. in qua eum aliis quindecim diebus. orationibus insistere constituit.

(XXI) Deinde signo dominice crucis in humero suscepto: dominici corporis sepulchrum ierosolimis uisitare perrexit. Et inde rediens: regem dominum suum cui prius familiaris extiterat: utpote uirum industrium et prudentem adiit. quatinus eiusmodi quem sibi consuleret ipse religionis habitum susciperet. Eodem autem tempore pie memorie geruasius abbas cenobii ludensis. qui a prephato rege locum ad construendum monasterium impetrauerat: monachum suum nomine Gilebertum de Iuda cum quibusdam aliis. qui scilicet Gilebertus postea fuit abbas de basingewerch ad eundem regem in hiberniam misit: ut et locum susciperet. et monasterium fundaret. Qui cum ueniens ad regem susceptus esset: conquestus est quod illius patrie linguam ignoraret. Quod audiens rex: ait. Optimum interpretem tibi commendabo. et accito prefato milite: iussit ut cum monacho maneret. Quam iussionem libentissime miles suscipiens: ait ad

dominum [fo. 111, col. 2] suum. Gratanter ei seruire debeo. *sed et uos cum magna gratiarum accione monachos cisterni ordinis in regno uestro suscipere debetis. quoniam ut uerum fatear: in sanctorum requie non uidi homines tanta gloria preditos. ut huius religionis uiros. Mansitque cum eodem Gileberto miles ille. sed nondum monachus. nec conuersus fieri uoluit. Ceperunt igitur monasterium construere. et manserunt simul ibidem duobus annis ac dimidio. Gilebertus uero domus illius erat cellerarius. miles autem forinsecus in omnibus procurator erat et minister deuotus: ac interpres fidelissimus. uixitque sancte ac satis religiose. sicut idem testatur Gilebertus. Et quando soli simul erant familiariter alicubi: ipsius Gileberti rogatu ob edificationem hec omnia diligentissime narrare consueuerat. Postea uero monachi qui cum eo missi fuerant: ad ludense cenobium in angliam redierunt. militemque in hybernia honeste et religiose uiuentem dimiserunt.*

(XXII) *Hec autem omnia cum sepedictus Gilebertus coram multis me quoque audientibus sicut sepius ab ipso milite audierat retulisset: affuit inter alios unus qui hec ita contigisse dubitare dixit. Cui Gilebertus. Sunt quidam inquit qui dicunt quod aulam intrantes primo fiunt in extasi. et hec omnia in spiritu uidere. Quod omnino sibi miles ita contigisse contradicit. sed corporeis oculis se uidisse. et corporaliter hec pertulisse constantissime testatur. Sed et ego in monasterio cui prefui aliquid oculis meis huic rei non ualde dissimile multique mecum conspexere [fo. 111b].*

(XXIII) *Erat enim in eodem monasterio monachus quidam ualde religiosus. Cuius sanctitati demones inuidentes: dormientem nocte quadam e dormitorio corporaliter tulerunt. Qui tribus diebus et noctibus ab ipsis detentus est: fratribus nescientibus quid de eo factum fuisset. Post tercium uero diem in lectulo suo a fratribus inuentus est: pene ad mortem usque flagellatus. horribiliterque a demonibus uulneratus. Michi quoque confessus est se stupenda et horrenda uidisse tormenta. Uixit autem postea .xv. annos. sed uulnera ipsius nullo potuerunt medicamine curari. Semper enim aperta et quasi recentia uidebantur. quorum quedam ad mensuram longitudinis digiti unius profunda fuerunt. Hic autem cum uidisset aliquando iuniorum aliquem immoderatus ridentem. uel iocantem. uel quolibet modo inordinate se habentem: aiebat. O si scires quanta hiuc inordinate dissolutioni maneat pena: forsitan gestus tuos tam incompressos et mores emendares in melius. Huius monachi uulnera uidi. et manibus meis attractaui. ipsumque post obitum ego ipse sepeliui. Huius itaque uiri tam sancti. tam religiosi. mihi tam familiaris relatio. si quid superioris relationis mihi dubietatis inerat: penitus extersit. Hucusque Gilebertus.*

(XXIV) *Ego autem postquam hec omnia audieram: duos de hibernia abbates ut adhuc cercior fierem super his conueni. Quorum unus: quod nunquam in patria sua audierat talia respondit. [fo. 111b, col. 2] Alius uero: quod multotiens hec audierit. et quod essent omnia uera affirmavit. Sed et hoc testatus est: quod idem purgatorium raro quis intrantium redit.*

(XXV) *Nuper etiam affatus sum episcopum quendam nepotem sancti patr[ic]ii tertii. socii uidelicet sancti Malachie florentianum nomine. in cuius episcopatu sicut ipse dixit est idem purgatorium. De quo cum curiosius inquirerem: respondit episcopus. Certe frater uerum est. Locus autem ille in episcopatu meo est: et multi pereunt in eodem purgatorio. Et qui forte redeunt: ob immanitatem tormentorum que passi sunt: languore siue pallore diuturno tabescunt. Sed si post ea sobrie et iuste uixerint: certi sunt alias pro peccatis suis penas se non esse perpressuros. Est et aliud haut longe ab eodem loco quiddam ualde memorabile. quod etiam tibi libenter narro.*

(XXVI) *Manet autem ibi iuxta quidam heremita. uir magne sanctitatis. cui uisibiliter una quaque nocte demonum apparet multitudo. Statim enim post solis occubitum conueniunt in ipsius cellule curia. et quasi concilium tota nocte tenentes: singuli coram quodam principe suo quid egerint in die referunt. et sic ante solis ortum recedunt. Ille uero uir uidet eos manifeste.*

et eorum narrationes intelligit. Ad hostium autem eius accedunt, sed intrare non presumentes: quasi nudas ei sepiissime mulieres ostendunt. Fit etiam ut eorum relatu multorum uitam actusque secretissimos in prouincia nouerit. Hec cum dixisset episcopus: ait capellanus ei. [fo. 112.] Ego eundem uirum sanctum uidi. et narrabo uobis si placet: quod ab eo didici. Jubente uero episcopo ut narraret: sic intulit. Centum miliaribus distat cella uiri illius a pede montis sancti Brandani. iuxta quem montem manet alius quidam heremita. quem sicut predictus uir dixit plus desideraret alloqui: quam alium quemquam in hac mortali uita. Quem cum interrogarem que causa fuerit: et cur ipsius alloquium eatenus optauerit. quia demonum inquit narratione didici. non eum sicut heremitam uiuere. Gaudent enim in concilio suo et congratulantur ad inuicem: quod eum tam facile seducunt. Sed et hoc quod ab eis nuper audisse contigit et uidisse narrabo.

Cum quadam nocte congregati fuissent: et magistro suo singuli precedentis opera diei retulissent. affuit inter alios unus. cui qui princeps eorum uidebatur: ait. Numquid portas aliquid ad manducandum? Et ille. Porto. Et quid inquit portas? Porto ait panem et caseum. butirum et farinam. Cui magister. Unde hec tibi? Et ille. Duo inquit hodie clerici uenerunt ad domum cuiusdam rustici diuitis. et petebant elemosinam in caritate christi. Rusticus autem habens hec omnia in conclauis: iurauit per sanctam caritatem christi se nichil habere quod posset eis largiri. et ob eius periurium amisit quod habuit. Nam ut ea surriperem: michi concessum est. Mane igitur egressus. repperi que audieram a demone nominari. scilicet panem et caseum. butirum et farinam. Sed nolens ut inde quisquam gustasset: omnia proieci in foueam. Est et aliud quod [fo. 112, col. 2] tue dilectioni refero. quod et te mente retinere cupio: illudque referre ceteris. ut eorum insidias caueant memento.

(XXVII) Sacerdos quidam sancte uite et honeste parrochiam regebat. in hac prouintia cuius erat consuetudo: ut cotidie summo mane surgens. prius ecclesie cimiterium circumiens. vij. psalmos pro fidelibus defunctis decantaret. Castissime uixit. et sollicite doctrine et operibus bonis operam dedit. Demones uero multotiens conquesti sunt: quod illum a proposito castimonie et sancte conuersationis nullus eorum flectere ualeret. Unde magister eorum grauitur eos increpabat. Accedens autem unus eorum ait. Ego eum decipiam. Ego enim ei iam preparauim mulierem: per quam eum a proposito deiciam. sed non nisi infra .xv. annos id facere potero. Cui magister eius. Si infra .xv. annos illum deiceres: rem grandem faceres. Illis autem diebus quibus hec a demonibus tractata sunt: surgens mane quadam die sacerdos. cimiteriumque de more circumiens: repperit iuxta crucem in cimiterio infantulam unam expositam. Quam accipiens commendauit cuidam nutrici ut eam quasi filiam suam propriam nutriret. Ablactatam uero litteras discere fecit. cuius integritatem christo consecrare proposuit. Que cum ad pubertatis annos peruenisset: et illius pulcritudini presbiter assuete et nimis familiariter intendisset. cepit in eius exardescere concupiscentia. quia secundum carnis pulcritudinem sed potius putredinem nimis erat speciosa. Et quo secretius et familiarius eam alloquebatur: eo feruentius in ipsius [fo. 112b] amorem rapiebatur. Contigit autem nuper ut eius assensum peteret: et impetravit. Et licet acrius ureretur post impetratum assensum: pauefactus tamen ad opus tam insolitum. actum distulit in crastinum. Eadem uero sequenti nocte congregatis demonibus prosiliens in medium sacerdotis inceptor: ait. Ante .xv. annos dixi quod per mulierem deicerem sacerdotem. et ecce iam illum ab ea feci petisse consensum: quam sibi adoptauerat in filiam. Sed et ipsa me suggerente concessit. et cras eos in meridie deiciam. His auditis omnes quasi gaudio magno cacchinantes et constrepentes. ei congratulabantur. Uisne inquit magister eorum socios habere tecum? Non est ait necesse. Solus enim hoc opus perficiam. Gratias igitur agens illi magister eius uiriliter eum egisse dicebat. Die uero crastina predictus presbiter aduocans puellam: in cubiculum suum introduxit. eamque super lectum suum locauit. Stetit igitur ante lectum aliquandiu: quid ageret hesitans. Tandem uero non illo instigante

qui eum ad hoc opus perduxerat. sed ipso inspirante qui non permittit hominem supra modum temptari: pensans animo presbiter huius enormitatem sceleris: ait puelle. Expecta filia paululum: expecta donec redeam. Procedens itaque presbiter ad hostium cubili: cultrum arripuit. uirilia sibimet abscidit. forasque proiecit dicens. Quid putastis demones. quod uersutias uestras non intellexerim: De perditione mea uel filie mee non gaudebitis: quia nec me nec illam habebitis. Sequenti uero nocte congregatis iterum demonibus: interrogauit magister discipulum. si peregisset quod se facturum spoponderat. Ille uero ingemiscens incassum se laborasse respondit et quomodo presbiter eum preuenerat omnibus enarrauit. Jussu igitur magistri sui ab aliis grauissime flagellatus est: et ita cunctis pre ira turpiter eiulantibus et horribiliter cachinnantibus concilium eorum dissipatum est. Sacerdos uero uirginem quam deo nutrierat: deo seruituram in monasterio uirginibus commendauit.

Hec itaque pater uenerande que a predictis uiris ueracibus et ualde religiosis andiui. sensum uerborum sequens. et relationis eorum seriem pro ut intelligere potui: sanctitati uestre cunctisque in amorem et timorem dei proficere cupientibus. sicut iussistis ecce litteris significo. Si quis igitur quod scribere talia presumpserim me reprehenderit: iussioni uestre me obedientiam exhibuisse nouerit. Precor et ego peccator humiliter. qui sanctorum exhortationes patrum interserens. opusculum istud per capitula distinxi caritatem uestram. illud uidelicet legentium simul et audientium exorare: quatinus a peccatis omnibus in presenti purgatum a supradictis et si que sunt alie penis extorrem. me una uobiscum post huius mortis horrorem transferat in prefatam beatorum requiem. ihesus christus dux et dominus noster. cuius nomen gloriosum permanet et benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.

**SOME PARADOXES OF THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC
MOVEMENT**

SOME PARADOXES OF THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

WILLIAM DARNALL MACCLINTOCK

THE purpose of this paper is the reinforcement of the doctrine of a single, continuous, and evolving movement in English Literature during the century beginning approximately with 1726. This view is opposed to that which regards this century as divided laterally into two or three separable periods, and to that which conceives it as a juxtaposition of concurrent but essentially disparate streams. The discussion, however, will be a word of rearrangement, redistribution of emphasis, and philosophizing, rather than an exploitation of new material.

Since the publication (1831) of Macaulay's essay on Byron the view that there was a distinct literary movement between Cowper and Scott has been familiar, though there cannot be said to have been an agreement as to its fundamental nature, nor as to an appropriate designation for it. Between 1880 and 1885 students of the literature of the middle of the eighteenth century began to identify and separate from the general drift of literary convention features which had long been accepted as characteristic of the fully recognized movement of the end of the century. These studies have increased in number and completeness until we have clearly established that, however the middle of the century was still pursuing the tradition of Pope and Addison, or was a "period of transition," it was most significantly the "beginning of the romantic movement."

The philosophy of the matter which connects these two periods into one orderly development, the unfolding of one fundamental artistic impulse from Thomson to Scott, is also not unfamiliar in recent criticism. Yet this doctrine cannot be said to be established, being rather diffused, surmised, and regarded as a wavering category, especially subject to constant modification and exception owing to the attention given to the long persistence of Queen Anne material and style, and to the seemingly contradictory nature of so many currents and eddies in so wide and long a stream. Moreover, so large an organization and so confident a delimitation of the romantic movement could not safely be made until now, when, having passed through the full literary movement that succeeded it, we are able to look over the alternating tides of the last two centuries and see that new lines of direction appeared in our literary history only in the second quarter of the eighteenth and the second quarter of the nineteenth centuries, and that other apparent departures are not breakings of the unity of the period, but accelerations, eddies, or openings of new springs into a congenial movement. It is now critically becoming to state such an opinion, not tentatively or with apology, but with assurance arising both from abundant special, scientific studies and from sufficient æsthetic philosophizing. The recognition of a

period so extensive, preceded by an equally unified and extended classical age and succeeded by the complementary and antithetical Victorian era, is made in the face of much critical opposition. There are those who, starting from close historical studies, emphasize the smaller movements of subject-matter and style, arrange several periods within the century, and are instinctively averse to views starting rather from philosophy and generic classification. Again, there are those who continue to regard the dying classical literature as the distinctive feature of the mid-eighteenth century, merely cataloguing as exceptional and unexpected some revivals of romance. Opposed also are the critics who fail to see that the Victorian era, or nineteenth century, is of essentially different impulses from the romantic age that preceded it. These would bravely include in one period, for example, Coleridge and Tennyson, Scott and George Eliot, the two Wordsworths—the one of the *Lyrical Ballads* and *The Prelude*, and the other of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*—or would provide merely for a moment of acceleration and influx of new subject-matter when Tennyson and Browning and Carlyle began to work. Finally, opposition comes from the students of special interests or threads of the movement, such as naturalism, romanticism, liberty, or social reform. These find it difficult to admit that interests so diverse in materials and atmosphere can be explained as from a single source. They would affirm, for example, that nothing more than a neighborly contemporaneity can be detected between the revival of the Middle Ages and the new, delicate, and extensive descriptions of physical nature which are found close together in the middle of the century.

Seeking an explanation for the number of legitimate views of the movement we are studying, we may profitably recognize four types of literary historians.¹ There are, in the first place, the annalistic students who write with scholarly care the exact history of authors and masterpieces, with details of dates, occasions, changes, and the immediate connections with other men and productions, but without effort to place and explain finally. This recital of literary facts with their immediate current history, the product of instinctively scientific and scholarly studies, makes for the emphasizing of individual items and for suspense of judgment. It particularly helps to resist the spirit of mere syllabus-making and of exaggerating commonplace resemblances. Inevitably this way of regarding the facts will result in a large number of "periods" and in the frequent splitting up of "schools" and tendencies according to conspicuous but minor artistic qualities.² Then there are the more philosophical writers who, from an instinct for generalization, the widest application of a few laws, and pushing back all explanation of phenomena to the most fundamental principle that will apply, inevitably reach doctrines of a few long periods which explain men and books of the age as products of "one common wave of life and thought," accounting for generic to the neglect of individual phenomena.³ In the next place there are the critics who are concerned to trace carefully and extensively some single species of literature or some special literary interest. They isolate it as a thread from a complex web, and follow it both through periods where it is a natural and significant expression of the

times and through those in which it is alien and obscure. Instances will be found in recent histories of the essay, of the novel, of romanticism, of social ideals. While this close pursuit of the natural history of distinct literary interests and species affords a discipline in artistic continuity and sequence, in watching how these interests fare in friendly and adverse ages, and proves the persistence and necessity of the few great art forms, on the other hand, in isolating its theme it loses sight of the connections of it with other literary and social concerns, and is apt to heighten the importance of the subject even to the point of identifying with it the whole movement.* And finally there are those, very influential in our day, who regard the law of influence among writers as most fundamental, whether it be discipleship, the passing on of a torch, or the artistic revulsions and reactions, the first of which continues tendencies and imitations, making schools, while the other starts new impulses and changes the line of direction. These critics have brought freshly to mind the vigor both of imitation and of the instinctive polarity in artistic temperaments, the latter revealing itself especially in the passion for new personal expression.

The special service rendered scholarly tradition by the other groups of critics must not obscure the fact that it is the philosophical student who will give the last word upon both the delimitation of these periods and the creating forces in them. His statements will be fewer than the others, his periods long, and his categories apply only at a relatively low level. He will take less notice of the rich variety of actual phenomena, and he will often seem to be sacrificing his peculiarly literary province in order to establish connections with philosophy and the social sciences. But only in his work can be found the explanations which reduce literary facts to their final mental principles. He may be expected to offer as an hypothesis some more simple, natural, co-ordinating principle of the artistic nature, which as a new base line will work a new critical triangulation.

Whatever problems remain as to the spaces between them, as to beginnings and decadences, all the historians are agreed in recognizing four creating and strikingly apparent centers for modern English literature, having their climaxes of production near the openings of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and the late middle of the nineteenth centuries. The philosophical historian explains these four periods as alternating expressions in art of the two most fundamental impulses in human nature—that which starts from and emphasizes the natural, innate, given, individual, and absolute in man, and that which starts from and emphasizes the outer world, social order, and the laws and systems of thought and conduct which bind men into great wholes. These two impulses in our literature never die out, but now one and now the other has a revival and complete expression, one being always quiescent, or active only in conscious revivals or as the charily admitted factor in some compromise or eclecticism. But, in providing for the return of these waves of artistic interest, the philosopher, having dropped the worn, mechanical figure of the swinging pendulum, affirms that it is always upon a higher level; that great achievements in art never pass out of

consciousness; that, though the later eighteenth century repeats the essential instincts of the sixteenth, and the Victorian era those of the classical period, it is in each case with permanent lessons learned from the great movement just preceding, and with manifold differences due to new materials in the social and mental world which must be interpreted and pleased. And he will not have finished his work until he accounts for the shifted themes, the changed order of species, the emphasis on new elements of style, in this recurrence of impulses in the rising spiral. We conclude, then, that these periods are not accidents in history, but inevitable occurrences in that balancing, symmetrical life of society and art which keeps alive both these absolute instincts of mankind, though in succession it asserts and controls first the individual and then the social order. This organic connection of our literary phenomena with all other human interests that spring from the general impulses of notable periods, may leave finally many æsthetic questions unsolved, but is as complete an explanation as criticism can afford.

But a discriminating scholarship not only must take full account of the beginnings and subsidence as well as of the creating, distinguishing center of a literary movement, but it is delighted to do so because it is precisely among the simplicities and experiments of such beginnings that there will be most easily detected the nature and elements of the impulses which later will create more important, but therefore more complicated and less resolvable, work. It is in the study of one of these periods of survivals and prophecies that the criticism of the last twenty years has accomplished a notable achievement—that of attaching vitally the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century to the fourth. The impelling force of this critical success has been the steady discovery of characteristics of the full romantic writers farther and farther back—Keats and Coleridge in Chatterton and the lovers of the old ballads, Wordsworth in Cowper and then in Thomson, and Wordsworth's poetic theories in Joseph Warton. Thomson was found to treat nature as did Cowper, Burns, and Wordsworth; the fountains of romance were opened by the early imitators of Spenser, by the revivers of the ballads, by Macpherson; Gray's *Elegy* was a document in the sympathetic view of the life of lowly people long before Cowper's fireside verse or Wordsworth's pictures of mountain shepherds. Since 1885 in what is called the "beginnings of the romantic movement" the emphasis has been shifted from the subsiding "eighteenth century" to those naturalistic, "romantic," and revolutionary tendencies which flowed in a continuous wave of evolution from Thomson to Scott. The mild and permissive way in which it was stated by Gosse (1888) that "a slow and slender, but ever broadening stream of natural observation has been meandering down" and "the buried and forgotten seeds of romantic fancy were becoming stimulated," has given way to stronger, more didactic statements that between 1725 and 1785 there blossomed all the features of the full romantic movement, and that these beginnings are the new and characteristic, and therefore the classifying, elements in the latter half of the century.

In establishing this single broad literary movement for the century following the writing of Thomson's *Seasons*, critical difficulty has arisen from applying the term "romantic" to the whole. Since Heine's famous dictum (1835) there has been frequent effort to limit the terms "romantic" and "romanticism" to the designation of the revival and imitation of the life and spirit of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, there has been a wider popular tendency to speak of the entire period as the "romantic movement," a tendency not discouraged by the fact that it creates many contradictions and paradoxes.

As to the term "romantic" itself, it may be pointed out that originally it was not limited as has been done by Heine and his followers. Sufficient evidence may be gathered from a few sentences in that most notable piece of thoroughly conscious criticism in the early times of the movement—Warton's *Essay on Pope* (1756): "The scenes of Thomson are frequently as wild and romantic as those of Salvator Rosa, viewed with precipices and torrents, and 'castled cliffs,' and deep valleys, with piny mountains, and the gloomiest caverns" (I, 43). Speaking of Pope's picture of the American Indian, he says: "The simple notions which uncivilized nations entertain of a future state are many of them beautifully romantic, and some of them the best subjects for poetry" (II, 68). In his final summary of Pope he says: "He who would think the *Fairy Queen*, *Palamon and Arcite*, *The Tempest*, or *Comus* childish and romantic might relish Pope" (II, 409). The term then was used originally to characterize any picturesque, fresh, distinct, mysterious material, and not exclusively that borrowed or imitated from the Middle Ages.

Furthermore, before and throughout the period under study, the term "romantic" was commonly used as one of contempt and scoffing, as naming not only the revivals of mediævalism, but anything strange, grotesque, mysterious, over-sentimental, any appeal for change in the social order, and demand for liberty. Scott, most eminent of mediævalists, could condemn the fantastic and grotesque work of Walpole and Radcliffe as "romantic." It was perhaps the translation into English of the serious meaning and force of the term as used on the continent, combined with English philosophic criticism from Warton to Coleridge, that established the word as a term of critical approval; this was accomplished by emphasizing and interpreting the qualities and materials it named, as the new and creative interests of the time.

Moreover, notice must be taken of an instinctive tendency in all critical processes to radiate their terms, a process that follows the two other stages in the history of critical terms, that of literary and figurative description, and that of narrowed and exact definition. If the word is picturesque and easily distinguishable, if it names some striking quality or interest of an age, then, as in all metonymy, it is seized upon and radiated—a process which finally makes it do duty even antagonistic to its origin and history. In the recent rewriting of the history of eighteenth-century literature such a spreading and reversion of the term "romantic" has occurred in spite of many protests. The literary material and pleasure named by it have been found in work not "romantic"

in the exact sense demanded by Heine's dictum. Its popular convenience is great, no other term having gained any wide usage except the commonplace though exact "Georgian era," with its unæsthetic associations. Historical usage, critical instinct, and popular convenience unite, then, in defense of this term as an appropriate name for the movement, and in resisting the limitation of it to revived mediævalism. Objections to it, therefore, must be set down to the conviction that there is no continuous period to be named, or that this radiation is opposed to clear thinking, or to the unyielding determination to hold the word for the one definite literary interest, or to mere critical impatience with philosophical as differing from historical categories.

But this doctrine of a single long movement would at first seem to create more contradictions than it solves. It does, as already intimated, make prominent the interests, ideas, and forms that are common to the age, and it shows that, while these are few in number, like the characteristics of a scientific genus their explaining power is great because they exhibit the working of some large permanent features of man's artistic nature. Furthermore, these few common characteristics unite the world of letters to the other worlds of politics, social movements, philosophy, and religion. But even when these are fully demonstrated and agreements reached concerning the one spirit which manifests itself in the varied phenomena of the romantic movement, there are two kinds of contradictions to be adjusted—those unavoidable and insoluble exceptions which spring from the continuance throughout the movement of work produced under the absolutely opposite and complementary classical impulse, and paradoxes which are seeming contradictions reducible to harmony by more penetrating conceptions of their nature, and which arise chiefly from emphasis upon the material upon which the romantic instinct works rather than upon the attitude of mind in which it labors.

Among these exceptions must be placed, first, the long continuance and slow decay of Queen Anne literary impulses. A classical age, due to the naturally sharp reactions against romantic excesses, begins promptly, vigorously, and widely; but dies down slowly through the stages of conventionality, imitation, and the natural persistence of common sense, propriety, and vested rights. A romantic period, on the other hand, begins tentatively, timidly, in outbreaks and flurries, but after reaching its climax passes quickly into intemperance and abuse, and soon loses its native power and public respect. Dr. Johnson lived far into the romantic period, in all so opposed to things "romantic" that we may even use his savage antipathies as a way of measuring the strength of the new taste in Gray, the ballad lovers, Macpherson, and Chatterton. Undoubtedly, also, general public taste delighted in Dryden, Pope, and Addison, into and even throughout the center of the romantic age. Most of the work of these later Augustans is, however, hereditary and repetitious. The only exception to this generalization is the outburst of realistic fiction in the middle of the century. This, of course, was a great creative movement, and, together with the literary essay, the most important gift to letters by the entire classical period. But it did belong to the classical movement

and is seen now only to have occurred later in the movement than might have been expected, was not continued and developed—the next realistic wave not occurring for a century afterward. Important as it is, it was therefore not so characteristic in the third quarter of the century as the rising impulses of passion, romance, and revolution. But Gray's poetry before the *Elegy*, that of Goldsmith, Johnson, the early work of Cowper, and the English poems of Burns, to mention only important writers, show how long the imitated forms and spirit of Queen Anne verse persisted, and in reference to the new work around, how uncharacteristic and paradoxical it became. Such mere momentum and gradual decay of classical taste have their own places in the history of the period; but in the history of the romantic movement they are negligible survivals.

These principles of gradual decay and slow beginnings further provide an adequate explanation of so-called "periods of transition" of which the years 1725 to 1775 make an example. Such a period has no philosophical meaning except as the matters for notice are the beginnings of new tendencies. It is a matter of course that an older literary impulse should slowly die down into decreased production, imitation, and the cold feebleness of an antique propriety; and that a new literary impulse should have a time of experiment, of new ideas in old forms, of reaction and protest. But for the literary historian the latter demands the emphasis; he will notice chiefly the literary aspiration and moods seeking expression, watch the appearance of new material, strive to connect the new growth with the general mind of the new time, and endeavor to register the differences between this and previous appearances of the same instincts. From the point of view of these tidal literary movements, when he considers the year 1748, he will make more of Thomson's *Castle of Indolence* than of Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*, more of Chatterton's *Ella* and *The Ballade of Charitie* than of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* in 1768. Even when in the same writer he finds the conventional and inherited closely preceding or accompanying things new and revolutionary, as in Gray, Goldsmith, and Cowper, he exclaims over the fresh elements, even though they be of slight amount and import in the mass of the man's work, as that which gives critical distinction because they are originating or accelerating the movement which is later to create work of universal value. To construct in criticism a "period of transition" as if it had any real independence is to violate the deepest law of the natural history of a literary movement—its inevitable continuance until it completely expresses and satisfies the artistic mind of the time.

Another of these natural exceptions, which do not, however, weaken the defense of a single long period, is found in the conscious reactions and revivals that occur during its life-history. The terms "protest" and "reaction" in literary history cover two very different attitudes of mind—the reaction from a preceding but just ending movement and the reaction against a current dominant movement. Instances of the former are the more or less unconscious reaction of Thomson and the revivers of Spenser and Milton in the second quarter of the eighteenth century; and in the second quarter of the nineteenth century in the perfectly conscious protests of Tennyson against

the "blind hysterics" of much previous romantic writing. It is possible that in our first enthusiastic interpretation of the beginnings of the romantic movement too much attention was given to these protests against previously dominant tendencies. If the new expressions were merely reactions, they have slight critical significance. If they were impulses toward some new element or form in art, or new aspect of subject-matter, interest should at once be focused on the new items, since they and not the revulsions are the causes, and indicated lines of development. The essential matters in the early revival and imitation of older English literature, and later of the features of life and art of the mediæval or "Gothic" ages, are that here men found pictures of life and modes of expression fresh, natural, deeply human, and moving to the passions. But the stages of experiment, or getting away from the immediate past by imitation of distant, not contiguous, literature was soon passed. The qualities the poets there found were detected in subject-matter of their own natures and surroundings, and the movement passed to the second stage of conscious assertion and active creation.

But it is the second kind of protest and reaction which more concerns us now—those conscious outcroppings and revivals of an alien interest in the very midst of a creative period. In this movement examples may be seen in the work of Jane Austen and in the really characteristic part of Landor's work; in the literary movement of the seventeenth century the poetry of Milton is such an exception, the pre-Raphaelites and the revival of romance in and after Stevenson, in nineteenth-century literature. It does not diminish their absolute value in literature to show that they are not in accord with the distinctive spirit of their periods, but are often scornfully protesting and withdrawn. Scott in fiction and Keats in his treatment of classic subjects are of the period; Jane Austen and Landor are above, beside, ahead, or belated—as one cares to see them. But they call for no new classification, being adequately explained by the persistence of the perennial classical current underneath the dominant romantic flood. A proof of the merely sporadic character of these revivals is the fact that they have no immediate influence on other writers, even when, as in the case of Jane Austen, they make so notable additions to the total treasure of our art.

A third of these irreconcilable exceptions is found in an occasional writer, or even decided school, who is moved by the spirit of ideal "classicism," who recognizes the legitimacy of both the classical and the romantic pleas, the lyric and epic instinct in art, and who attempts to combine and reconcile them. They endeavor to establish a golden mean, perfecting both subject and form and allowing neither to have predominant right in art, offering the ideal compromise of the individual with society, the temperate balancing of all emotions, permitting the loss of no sacred thing of the past while creating freely for a present world. From such devotion to perfection came the immortal part of Landor's work and from such the good wine which time shall draw off from the total must of Tennyson. An instance of this kind of exception in the midst of a full-flowing movement is not to be reduced to terms of it, but must be allowed to remain an eddy, often picturesque and beautiful, and always critically interesting.

We are brought finally to a group of real paradoxes in the romantic movement which are to be reconciled by exhibiting the working in them of a common law, or whose peaked insistence is to be modified by the perspective of a wide view. The age we are studying is especially rich in these paradoxes. A romantic impulse always arouses the human being's central self, starts all his native faculties anew, and makes him aware of the pleasure and legitimacy of seeing and interpreting the world from the point of view of his own individuality. He admits no external model, organized world, or system to be served and to limit. Hence all is new and even revolutionary. Laws and principles separating art and artistic instincts from other large concerns in philosophy, politics, religion, and history are broken down; the forms and species of literature emphasized by the preceding classical age are widely abrogated. Witness Wordsworth's denial of any essential difference between prose and poetry, Shelley's mingling of poetry, philosophy, and political science, and the paradox in the very title "lyrical ballads." This centrifugal and expansive tendency, this spending of feeling, like Wordsworth's nutting boy, on stocks and stones and on the vacant air, will juxtapose not only in the same movement, but even in the same mind, interests so diverse as to amount to genuine paradoxes. On the other hand, a classical age assembles an æsthetic system with a body of fixed laws, and subjects the artistic impulses to these derived statutes. It therefore concentrates, defines, and unifies. Its literary impulses can be more readily stated in terms of the objects or materials to be portrayed. "Faithfulness to material" is an almost adequate definition of the impulse of a realistic period. Hence it is relatively free from exceptions and paradoxes.

The group of contradictions now to be examined may be summarized as follows: † in an age by postulate full of human affairs, adventure, and epic activities, the exact portrayal of physical nature for itself seems a paradox; in such an age the striking dream of escape from the multitude into seclusion is another; sentimental melancholy in an age theoretically, at least, full of activity, creative and happy, is another; the excessive brooding over inner experiences is a seeming contradiction to the brave delight in the heroic goings-on of the world; it might not have been expected that an age of so great delight in the concrete human life should pay so much heed to doctrines of general humanity; nor that so much dependence upon mere reason, so much devising and propagating vast theoretical schemes of thought and conduct, should appear in a time so widely and intensely emotional; the portrayal and defense of the lowly, common, and real in a period of delight in the rare, mysterious, and distant seems a paradox; an early aspect of the movement is its protest against the general and indiscriminative in style in favor of concreteness and particularity, yet at the same time the passion for abstraction spread widely; there is a pointed paradox in the very phrase "lyrical ballads;" and finally the natural pleasure in a rich, elaborate, active world of men seems contradictory to the delicate dream of simplification in manners and in literary style.

Before attempting the solution of these paradoxes, it is necessary even once more to survey the suggestions and hypotheses offered by students as causal explanation

of the art of the period, and to make choice further between the theories which group the phenomena under terms of one all-explaining law and those which, despairing of such unification, present a rich aggregation of secondary causes, but no one final cause—a choice between the more literary and scientific and the more speculative and philosophical historians. The most important of these principles of explanation are these: the return to nature; the passion for romance; the instinct of liberty; general revolutionary impulses; the passions of individuality; idealism; the revival of emotion; the democratic principle; another wave of humanism; the epic instinct. It is, perhaps, only academically and speculatively urgent to attempt a co-ordination of these as branches from one root, as streams from one spring; for practical scholarship it is sufficient if all be included in a history of the period, provision being made for careful statements as to the date at which, in what temperaments, with what immediate causes and effects, and over what materials each of the larger literary interests showed itself. But for the philosophy of the matter, the only basis for removing the paradoxes, it is still worth while to venture the boldest generalizations in the hope of grasping that principle which will classify the largest body of phenomena.

Recognizing and granting the venturesomeness of the attempt, I suggest that such an explanation is found in a deeper interpretation of the principle embodied in the word "nature"—that the romantic movement is one of the inevitably recurring expressions of the tastes and emotions of the natural human mind. By this natural mind I do not mean the savage mind or that of primitive man, but rather the innate core of preference and tendency, the same in essence for all men when they are free from systems, conventions, and social pressure. It is to be distinguished from the social mind which exists on the same horizontal level of evolution and experience, and from that of early man which is lower in the perpendicular scale of culture levels. Nor is this principle to be identified or even confused with the veteran topic of "the return to nature" in either of its two forms—that of rich observation, accurate description, and emotional interpretation of physical nature, nor yet that philosophy of "naturalism" which attempted to demonstrate an original "nature of man" or a once-existing wholesome "natural" state of society. Even beneath these doctrines we discover as æsthetic explanation, the arousing, the self-consciousness of the artist, the mind "operating by its own force and bias," the enjoyment of his natural self, the freedom of innate tastes and impulses. It is this spring of "nature" in contradiction to a similarly large respect for social order, for a world of artistic achievement and law, which is the most essential motive of the romantic temperament.

The view of this "natural" impulse as a single principle co-ordinating the phenomena of the period is not obscured by the fact that the objects of the physical or human world upon which it expends itself, or which it uses in its artistic creations, are very diverse. Looking at these "materials" only we could make no classification of them into any large unity. The romantic spirit is highly centrifugal; the artist's central self is strongly agitated from within, and the resultant waves break on many differently

shaped and conditioned shores. Furthermore, in an age as late in history as this there are many grades of intellectual and social personalities affected, there are accumulated ideals and conventions overlying. As the principle of nature partly breaks away from these and partly breaks through them, it produces many paradoxes without ceasing to be a single continuous principle of production. If, for example, the childlike wonder over phenomena strong, striking, and mysterious, is a product of unsophisticated natural minds and of all men when they imaginatively reproduce in themselves such a state, just as much the eternally primitive nature in an educated mind will wonder over and enjoy the simple, naïve, and restful in the seemingly idyllic life of peasants, in things "common," and in uncomplex society. Both are "natural," though at the opposite sides of the radiating center.

The next inquiry, then, is as to what instincts and activities will be exhibited by this newly asserted natural mind as it frees itself from conventional theory and action, regards its own impulses as the law of its pleasure, and begins to present and interpret a new world of art. This inquiry is frankly *a priori*, and, owing to the purpose of this paper, tacitly assumes the conclusions reached in recent studies of our last two romantic periods, and also in those made upon primitive and modern popular tastes and the literary instincts of children. It is not too much to say that these studies have established a few large characteristics of this creating spirit which are universal and continue as a spirit or bias in every such "natural" period.

The natural mind in art will, above all, turn to things new and strange, making "a renaissance of wonder." It may be expected, too, that this will be attended by sharp protests against an uninteresting present world. This spirit will, moreover, delight in an active, moving, human world, and therefore in heroic and accomplishing agents. Again, it seeks those experiences which deeply move our first affections, arousing profoundly both terror and pity. And finally it delights in a world of concrete, individual facts and items of experience, attaching emotions and philosophies to images and instances rather than to generalizations and classes.

If we may then take as granted these general features of the natural romantic mind in art, we must group about them the special features of the period, due to the century in which it lay, the intellectual and artistic achievements in the world's consciousness, the social and moral theories inherited, the living influence of great masterpieces and schools of letters, and both the imitations and reactions of the time. A conspectus drawn from the last century of appreciation and criticism exhibits the following as special characteristics of the English romantic movement: A turning to the distant past or future for materials of enjoyment, attended by protests against cold, unpicturesque surroundings; a feeling for all forms of freedom as this upheaving consciousness, trusting to the unerring light of its new loves, strikes against the barriers of the constituted order; the naïve, frank outpouring of personal experience and feeling; the unhesitating portrayal of all grades of emotion from mere sensibility to the most extravagant passion; sentimentality and sentimental melancholy; the

discovery of essentially human and beautiful characteristics in the simplest people and circumstances, and the gradual perfecting of a doctrine of the worth of man as man, attended finally by active, revolutionary protests against the conventions of caste and social privilege; an interest in what is rare, distant, terrible, and picturesque in physical nature, an escape from the city and from the half-humanized nature of parks and gardens; a pleasure in the detailed, particular and picturesque rather than in the general and indiscriminating; a spirit of brooding and of contemplation leading at the end to much abstract thinking; a simultaneous development of an absolute skepticism toward the metaphysics and theology of the immediate past and the released instinct of mysticism leading to the most extravagant systems of faith and the conviction that the world is just what the thinking and feeling mind decrees it shall be; the legitimacy and excellency of emotion and passion, the assertion that the feelings are more nearly the center of the human self than the intellect; and, finally, as against national ideals, the spread of a doctrine of cosmopolitanism, the dream of a universal brotherhood of similar tastes and behavior. Varied as they are, these are all aspects of the tastes and activities of this reasserted natural mind, and beneath them it may be traced as the germinal and classifying principle.

A consideration immediately derived from this fundamental principle, and which itself eases more than one paradox, presents itself at once for discussion. It is that in the romantic movement the revival of personality, of individual experience and emotion, was a portrayal of the inner nature rather as a source of life and free activity than as an object of study, of analysis and of introspection. Being in a modern world, of course many aspects and movements of feeling were presented with delicacy and elaboration. But the romantic mind acts, and loves action, it seeks experience — is willing to seek experience for the sake of the concomitant emotions; it gives way to the feelings natural under every circumstance. This is the essentially epic spirit in a modern world. Its way of handling emotion differs radically from the lyric way of the nineteenth century wherein the inner life is elaborately studied, wondered over, regarded as the victim of an untoward environment, wailing and repining in beautiful, but ineffectual sadness. This spirit is fundamentally opposed to the belief in one's personality, in the legitimacy of one's likes and dislikes, the passion for experimentation and experience, the neglect of the barriers, caution, willed restraint, and moral law which characterized the romantic movement. Of course, Burns and Ferguson, and later Byron, wrote good songs, but Thomson, Goldsmith, Gray, Cowper, Crabbe, Coleridge, and Wordsworth did not; and the poetry of Byron, Shelley, and Keats that is essentially lyrical is relatively small in amount, was felt by them not to be their important work, and has not the quality of dainty pausing, slight aspects of subject-matter, very simple structure, the extreme, painful self-consciousness, the morbid, esoteric sentiment, tears whose meaning the weeper knows not, characteristic of the lyric poetry of the nineteenth century. In spite of the fact that Burns wrote many perfect songs and Shelley affords an occasional radiant

surprise, it is a mistake to speak of the period as "lyrical." As one might expect in a modern period of art there is a large amount of suffused lyricism. But it is slight in comparison with the amount of more objective work done, and in kind different from the lyric writing preceding and following. The attempt to identify the musical beauty of the objective description and active sentiment of Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes* or Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* with lyric poetry proper, shows critical confusion, losing sight both of the nature and appeal of the two poetic kinds. The paradox of cataloguing the period as essentially epic, while it treats so much the inner and personal life, is one of those dissipated by emphasizing thus the epic spirit in which this is done, regarding the inner life as source and scene of a moving stream of emotional events. Byron affords us precisely the exception that tests the rule in that his native joy in an active epic world, falling back from the limp and cynical post-revolution life and thought, produced in him a satiric, pseudo-lyric melancholy.

One of the aspects of the movement accepted by all students is its passion for things "human." Now, to Pope and his age the proper study of mankind was man; not individual men, personal, separated, natural, but man as a class, man of social relations, the creation largely of his inheritance and surroundings. Again, the nineteenth-century literature has been most fundamentally social, with its demand for human documents in letters, its infusion of the doctrines of social progress, and its denial, in theory, of innate and absolute individual rights. It may be urged that these are passions for "the human," for humanity; and popular oratory in each period insisted that men were never so interested in human welfare. The paradox of affirming that the romantic movement was also a "human" movement is cleared up by noticing that in the age of Pope this human interest was chiefly social, whereas in this period it was the portrayal and defense of the universal and "real" in human nature—those innate qualities and actions true for all times and places, and to be detected by sympathy underneath the classes which are almost dehumanized by caste and privilege. A final philosophy may regard both as essential in a complete man or society; the romantic movement discovered, felt, described, defended what it regarded as the natural, absolute and real in human nature, and resisted the instinct of all classical ages to look at human beings from the ground of classes, occupations and privileges.

No characteristic of the period has been more constantly noticed than that of its feeling, emotion, passion; many critics have felt this to be a sufficient category in which to place all its phenomena. What is to be said, then, of the remarkable outburst of free thought, of "reason," seen, say, in Burns, Godwin, Shelley, Hunt, Byron, Coleridge, and the early work of Wordsworth? This may be said, that it was an apotheosis of Reason, not a defense of reasoning; of the intuitive, *a priori*, idealistic aspects of the mind, not of the logical, discursive, scientific features. These latter are, of course, sharply critical both of the processes and conclusions of feeling and intuition; the former are not. The ordered path of the reasoning process is classical; the intuitive leap to Reason is romantic. It was this revolutionary glorification of

Reason, this emotional rationalization of all human affairs that freed many creative minds in the midst of the movement from all conventions and inspired many experiments in living above or apart from the expected customs of society. Wordsworth paraphrasing Godwin, stated the new rationalism thus:

. . . . What delight,
How glorious! in self-knowledge and self-rule,
To look through all the frailties of the world,
And, with a resolute mastery shaking off
Infirmities of nature, time and place,
Build social upon personal Liberty,
Which, to the blind restraints of general laws
Superior, magisterially adopts
One guide, the light of circumstances, flashed
Upon an independent intellect.

— *Prelude*, XI, 235.

It is a long-standing paradox that the same literary movement should have produced features so opposite as the love of the rare, strange, mysterious, and "romantic," and the close study and exact portrayal of the common and real. The second quarter of the century witnessed the decline in production of the Vergilian type of pastoral poetry, though much popular taste for it in its dying sentimental aspect lingered even so far down as Crabbe's day. It witnessed as well the beginnings of the more sympathetic and accurate descriptions of lowly human life in the country, running in a generally widening stream from Ramsay to Wordsworth. We see this discriminative treatment of lowly life through all degrees of sympathy—apology, portrayal, enjoyment, defense, and propagandism—this delight in the near-by, common, and "mean," running exactly parallel to the movements for imitating older literature, reviving the ballads, and introducing other mediæval and Gothic materials. They mingle in the same poet, as when Gray presents us so radical a statement of the compensations for lowliness and within a few years exhibits distinctive romanticism in his Norse poems. This portrayal of lowly, unelaborate life, the beauty in common things which is an hourly neighbor to the poet, seems to have sprung from and satisfied at least three features of natural taste—it excited pity and other tender feelings, it pleased the sense of concrete, particular reality, and, paradoxical as it seems, gratified the desire for things new, mysterious, and striking. The discovery that there were indeed spiritual compensations for the pain and ignominy of lowly estate, that the poor abounded in sympathies, tenderness, and nobility thought before to adhere only in leisure and culture, that "all of us have one common human heart," was the opening of a world as unknown, as distant, as fresh, requiring as much imagination to grasp it, and as really, if less vividly, creating emotion, as that other world feigned by fancy in the Middle Ages or the Orient. Here again the contradiction disappears if we take attention from the diverse material with which we start and fix it upon the common spirit and delight which pervades all. To be sure, these pictures of "unassuming

things that hold a silent station in this beauteous world" fell largely on closed eyes. It was a slight vein kept open by the conscious effort of a few writers, and was easily absorbed in the more vigorous tide of social and political revolution. But though it lies at the outer edge, it is clearly within that expanding, radiating circle of the natural taste of this energized and flowing human movement.

It seems at first irreconcilable that the movement exhibited early and throughout its history intense delight in things concrete, particular, discriminated, in picturesque imagery and very exact descriptions, and at the same time so much inclination for "contemplation," for abstract reasoning, and for vast speculative schemes of thinking and of literary endeavor. As early as Warton's *Essay on Pope* (1756) this was noted by the critic as characteristic of Thomson, Mason, Gray, and others. Warton claimed that the introduction of reflections and sentiments was one of the most pleasing arts of descriptive poetry. Looking more deeply, we see the paradox disappear in the fact that while the natural, elementary, intuitive mind resists the long process of rising from many facts through the slow degrees of inference and classification to demonstrable theories and systems, it has no hesitancy or difficulty in springing from single concrete facts to large principles or laws. In the pre-Raphaelite movement, that short, conscious revival and outburst of romantic feeling in an alien time, is seen again this union of concreteness and abstraction. Here there was no distress in uniting the most naïve, exact detail with mystical devotion and philosophies. And it was even so in Blake and Shelley; and though Wordsworth allowed his contemplative and philosophical tendencies to triumph finally over his poetry, his great work before the *Excursion* shows how this incongruity can be harmonized in the exercise of a great imagination.

There is a piquant and almost defiant paradox in the combination "lyrical ballads," present also in the explanations of the origin and purpose of the poems themselves as given by Wordsworth and Coleridge. It is recalled that the poets were trying to combine the two cardinal points of poetry, "the power of exciting the sympathy of the reader by a faithful adherence to the truth of nature, and the power of giving the interest of reality by the modifying colors of the imagination." The contradiction is reconciled in noticing that "lyrical" is here strictly an attributive and not an essential or phrasal adjective; that the lyrical quality was subordinate and even accidental; that Coleridge succeeded in making a great poem because he gave an active, objective, ballad and epic spirit to his work and, as he himself said, would have done better to omit the moralizing lyric passage at the end; and that when Wordsworth failed it was just because he did not observe the laws of the very "ballad" material with which he set out. In saying that the romantic movement was in the largest view an "epic" expression, we protest against the too common limiting of the term to epic poetry—either the older ballad and folk epics or the literary developed epics. It covers, by a natural retention and spreading of its original sense, all those literary impulses and modes wherein poets and romancers look at, enjoy, participate in, the enterprises of a living world. If originally such joy in movement was entirely simple, objective, and detached, it is

not inconsistent that the modern poet should find more feeling involved in the stream of events, or find his own emotions more aroused, or feel that the dull and conventional onlookers should be kindled to sympathy and participation. It was to be found of Wordsworth too, that the natural history of emotions could not be made to synchronize with a series of epic incidents, however much some great emotion may have originally set them going—that he injured his stories to enforce his psychology. He was mistaken in thinking he could use a ballad form and trace in it the history of a lyric mood. This lyrical nimbus surrounding the flow of epic incident differs radically from the results secured when the poet looks only into his heart and writes, analyzing, psychologizing, tracing exact histories of feeling, and moralizing—characteristics of modern essential “lyrism.”

One of the picturesque inconsistencies of the period was the advocacy here and there of simplification. This was never, to be sure, a movement, but it was persistent throughout the age in the dreams of many highly cultivated natures. Simplicity is of course not originally a quality of “romance” nor is it an attitude of natural taste. This is rather all for elaboration, high coloring, addition to crude material of a rich overlay of associations. But the sentiment for simplicity was, like the other naturalistic impulses, a desire to escape from a wearisome present of elaborate literary and social practice. The simple and true in country life, the naturalness of the ballad style, the spiritual theories of the common life in Cowper and Wordsworth were as truly such an escape from the complexities and ills of disheartening surroundings as were Walpole’s and Chatterton’s half-serious revivals of mediæval life; they spring from the same spirit of re-asserted, natural taste.

Starting from these principles of solution one sees why the subject-matter treated by the romantic poets and poetry cannot be used as the classifying basis. The whole period was very diverse in its materials, having nothing like the common social and moral subjects of the classical movement. The romantic impulse is an attitude of mind, a spirit given, a passion for modification, ornamentation, and re-creation of material in terms of a self-originated ideal, and not a mood dictated by experience and faithfulness to material. Of course, the outlining and description of a new and distinct subject-matter is always a notable thing in literary history. But unless it be able to create a new form or fulfil a distinct artistic function, it does not rise to the dignity of a literary movement. No aspect of its subject-matter achieved such dignity in the romantic period. Here is the fundamental objection to identifying the revival of mediæval material with the essentially romantic spirit. The far-reaching suggestion of Heine’s to this effect has been supplemented and illustrated both widely and brilliantly by later writers, but always with the result of leaving many critics unsatisfied, who find the spirit of romance in other subjects, and insist that this spirit as a selecting and creating agent should be the center of statement. The same objection holds when any other object of its interest is regarded as the essential element—as physical nature, or lowly life, or social regeneration. It goes anywhere for material,

